



Muslim Students Association
THE INVESTIGATIVE PROJECT ON TERRORISM
DOSSIER

SUMMARY

Islamic extremism is on the rise on college and university campuses across the United States. The spread of radical Islamism on campuses has proven to be an effective tool to garner support and gain legitimacy, exploiting the right of free association with academic institutions. International and domestic groups that advocate extremist or radical causes frequently host lectures and other events on campuses to shore up support and recruit members. Indeed, universities are a fertile field for radicals searching for the next generation of activists and sympathizers.

With nearly 600 chapters -- including roughly 150 affiliated chapters -- located in the United States and Canada,¹ the Muslim Students Association (MSA) is the most visible and influential Islamic student organization in North America. As reflected in the extensive information presented in this dossier, MSA has gained legitimacy on American campuses as a benevolent collegiate faith club; however, under this moderate veneer MSA advances a different agenda among impressionable college students. Through conferences and events, publications, websites and other activities, MSA has disseminated and promoted militant Islamic ideologies on college and university campuses throughout North America. This dossier is on MSA-National as well as the numerous chapters of MSA formally affiliated with MSA-National.

I. MSA'S ROOTS IN THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Muslim Students Association (MSA) of the United States and Canada was incorporated in January 1963, when members of the Muslim Brotherhood² came together at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign with the goal of "spreading Islam as students in North America."³ On its website, MSA-National describes itself as "a non-profit, 501(c) (3), tax-exempt organization that finances itself mainly by fundraising activities."⁴

Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, or the Muslim Brotherhood, was founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. It is a rigidly conservative and highly secretive Egyptian-based organization

¹ "Current Size of MSA National," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/media/support/> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

² Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*. September 19, 2004.

³ "A Little Taste of History," MSA-National Website (Archive), <http://web.archive.org/web/20060118061004/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (Accessed May 14, 2007).

⁴ "Frequently Asked Questions About MSA of the US & Canada," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/about/faq.html#principle> (Accessed May 14, 2007).



dedicated to resurrecting true Islamic governance based on Sharia law. According to al-Banna, “It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations and to extend its power to the entire planet.”⁵ The motto of the Muslim Brotherhood, as elucidated by al-Banna, is, “God is our objective, the Quran is our Constitution, the Prophet is our leader, jihad is our way, and death for the sake of God is the highest of our aspirations.” This motto is often repeated by modern day Brotherhood figures around the world.

The July 2004 indictment of the alleged Hamas front organization, Holy Land Foundation, and seven of its top leaders noted, “The Muslim Brotherhood...is committed to the globalization of Islam through social engineering and violent jihad (holy war).”⁶

The Muslim Brotherhood has provided the ideological underpinning for all modern Sunni Islamic terrorist groups. When discussing Hamas, al Qaeda and Islamic Jihad, Richard Clarke, former national coordinator for security, infrastructure protection under Presidents Clinton and Bush, stated in October 2003 testimony before a Senate committee: “The common link here is the extremist Muslim Brotherhood - all of these organizations are descendants of the membership and ideology of the Muslim Brothers.”⁷ Indeed, the 9/11 Commission Report noted that Osama bin Laden “relies heavily” on Sayyid Qutb,⁸ a prominent Brotherhood leader executed in the 1950s by Egyptian government.

MSA promotes the Islamist ideology inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, seeing itself as part of the global Islamic movement. As Larry A. Poston, a theologian from Nyack College, explains in his essay, “Da’wa in the West”:

The Ikhwan [Brotherhood] can be credited with forming several of the Islamic organizations in America. MSA, formed in 1963, has often been a collaborative effort of Ikhwan members from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and the Sudan.

...

The missionary philosophies of al-Banna and Mawdudi have entered the North American continent by at least three different routes...The second avenue has been the Muslim Student Association, undoubtedly the most activist of the da’wa organizations in America. Many of the founding members of this agency were members of or had connections to one or the other of the two organizations in question [the Muslim Brotherhood or Jamaat-i-Islami] and it was through these persons that the ideologies of al-Banna and Mawdudi were integrated into the goals and philosophies of the... [MSA].⁹

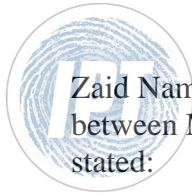
⁵ Neil MacFarquhar, “Egyptian Group Patiently Pursues Dream of Islamic State.” *New York Times*, January 20, 2002.

⁶ *USA v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240 “Indictment” (ND TX July 27, 2004).

⁷ Richard Clarke, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs. *The Financing of Terror Organizations*, 108th Cong., 1st sess., October 22, 2003.

⁸ *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. W.W. (New York: Norton & Company, 2004), 51.

⁹ Larry A. Poston, “Da’wa in the West,” *The Muslims of America*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 121, 129.



Zaid Naman, an official of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S., explained the relationship between MSA and the Muslim Brotherhood in a speech in Missouri in the 1980s.¹⁰ He stated:

All of that, Ikhwan¹¹ was at the beginning of work when the Ikhwan who came to America, may God reward them all good, were seeking methods for activism. This was probably in the mid 60's...er, or even...I mean, mid 60's, long time ago. As for recruitment in the ranks of the Movement [the Muslim Brotherhood in North America], its main condition was that a brother...was that a brother must be active in the general activism in the MSA, a person who attends its general conferences or participating in its executive committees, whether local or central, and this was the Movement's conditions in the 1960s.¹²

Naman continued:

If we examine the Group's conferences in this..., in this time period [1963-1974], we would find that they were characterized with the following: First of all, in the past the Ikhwan's conferences used to be held in the same time as the MSA's conferences, at the same time. They would either precede it with one day or come a day after them. After that they became separate from the MSA's conferences and they lasted an entire week.¹³

Speaking about the character of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America at the time he spoke, Naman stated:

We say that first of all, the organizational base in north [sic] America is an organizational base with a dynamic characteristic. This dynamic is at two levels: The first one is at the north [sic] America's level as the vast majority of the Muslim Brotherhood here are students.¹⁴

He later added, "The reality of the movement is that it is a students' Movement."¹⁵

Explaining the role MSA leadership played in governing the Muslim Brotherhood in North America in the 1960s and early 1970s, Naman said, "I mean the most important resolution the Group might have taken was who was going to be a member of the MSA's executive committee."¹⁶

He continued:

¹⁰ *USA v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, Exhibit 003-0089, (ND TX, July 2007).

¹¹ *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* is Arabic for "the Muslim Brotherhood."

¹² I *USA v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, Exhibit 003-0089, (ND TX, July 2007), p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.



The first change was moving the Ikhwan from working at the branches of the MSA and the [Arab Youth Muslim] Association as branches whose activities are based on universities where they go to a university to hold their activity, to what is called at that time “The Muslim House”. The Muslim House was based on them purchasing a house near the university with Ikhwan living in a part of it and the rest of it becomes a mosque and it would also be a nucleus for the activity.¹⁷

Later, an unidentified audience member asked about “the formation of one or multiple fronts for the Group”¹⁸ and in Naman’s response, he said:

As for distributing the brothers’ efforts, yes, in some of the regions where few Ikhwan exist, there will really be a heavy pressure on them because, in addition to that, they have to be members of the MSA, the [Muslim Arab Youth] Association and, if they’re Palestinians for instance, they will have to be members in the Islamic Association for Palestine.¹⁹

At the 7th annual MSA West Conference held at the University of Southern California in January 2005, a former MSA UCLA member, Ahmed Shama stated, “We want to restore Islam to the leadership of society... We are trying to establish that system of government, of Islamic governance, and to the helm of life in all walks of life. In short, we want to make the word of Allah (swt) supreme in every single aspect of life... The end goal of everything that we’re talking about is the reestablishment of the Islamic form of government...”²⁰

Interestingly, of two prominent terrorist groups, he said, “Look at Palestine and Lebanon. You see groups like Hamas and Hizballah. These groups that have been uncompromising, trying to establish things based on Islam and they simply will not budge, they will not shake hands with the other side because there are some fundamental conflicts – remember what we were talking earlier about enjoying what is right and forbidding what is wrong? – those concepts, they can’t compromise on.”

Of insurgent groups in Iraq that target American soldiers, Shama says, expressing solidarity, “You look at the situation in Iraq... and you see people like Muqtada al Sadr, who are legitimately rising up against occupation. You see the residents of Fallujah and Mosul legitimately struggling against occupation, and anyone who is doing that for sake of Allah are a part of the global Islamic Movement. Call them insurgents, call them whatever the heck you want; they are a part of the global Islamic Movement if they’re fighting against the occupation and the [uninte] for the sake of Allah (swt).”²¹ By the time of this 2005 MSA conference at which Shama made these remarks, identifying al-Sadr as part of the same Islamic Movement as MSA, al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army had killed American soldiers in well-publicized confrontations and ambushes.²² The Fallujah uprising began when four U.S.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ahmad Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.

²¹ Ibid.

²² “Capsules of U.S. troops who have died while serving in Iraq and Kuwait,” *Associated Press*, April 30, 2004.



contractors were killed. Their bodies were mutilated and they were hung from a bridge. Shama then identified the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas as a part of the “mainstream Islamic movement.”²³ He later added that Hamas was “doing the work on behalf of the *ummah* in *Filistine* [Palestine]... Their slogan has been quite clear that, the only solution to the current occupation is military resistance. Not shaking hands. Not dialogues. The current solution to the problem in *Filistine* a military system.”²⁴

He explained how MSA fits in: “The reality is that the Islamic Movement is global and that part of that global aspect is that there has to be a local element to it. We have to be involved. We have to be plugged into the global Islamic Movement. We have an obligation to make sure that our MSAs are part of the global Islamic Movement.”²⁵ It is important to understand the rhetorical implications of Shama’s speech. Adherents of the Muslim Brotherhood and its South Asian sister organization, Jamaat-i-Islami, often refer to their cause as the “Islamic Movement.” In fact, Zaid Naman, an official of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S.,²⁶ noted that “at some point, there was an attempt to change the name of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement to The Islamic Movement”²⁷ in a speech about the Brotherhood in America sometime during the 1980s.²⁸

Describing the perfect activist in the Islamic Movement, Shama read that

...he is also stimulated by his keenness to discharge his duty, eliminate inefficiencies, contribute to the revival of the neglected *Khilafas* [Caliphates], enforcing the *shariah* sent down by Allah, unifying the Muslim nation around the Holy Quran, supporting Allah’s friends and fighting Allah’s foes, liberating Muslim territories from all aggression or non-Muslim control, reinstating the Islamic system of *Khilafa* to the leadership and [unintelligible word] as required by *shariah*, and renewing the obligation to spread the call of Islam...²⁹

In one segment of Shama’s speech, he ran through a series of what he sees as praiseworthy figures throughout history of the Islamic Movement. Hassan al Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, was praised extensively.³⁰ Also praised was Sayed Qutb, a prominent leader of the Muslim Brotherhood executed by the Egyptian government. Two of Qutb’s books, *In the Shade of the Quran* and *Milestones*, heavily influenced Osama bin Laden. In his speech, Shama insists that, “If you want to know about the Islamic Movement, you must first read *Milestones*.”³¹ Later in his speech, Shama again said, “I *strongly* recommend, a very good book to start out with is *Milestones*.” A central thesis of *Milestones* was that the

²³ Ahmad Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *USA v. Holy Land Foundation*, 04-CR-240, Exhibit 003-0089, (ND TX, July 2007).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ahmad Shama, Speech “Global Islamic Movements,” Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.



world had degraded into ignorance, that Arab secular leaders were not true Muslims and therefore must be overthrown. Qutb also insisted that jihad was an offensive struggle that must bring Islam to the entire world so that everyone obeys the will of Allah.

Shama noted the importance of the term, “movement,” when he described MSA’s goal of spreading Islam on the West Coast of the United States:

When MSA West was started...it was very important to those who were helping found it to have that word ‘movement’ in there because we want to be part of this definition I was talking about earlier that we are working towards the Word of Allah being most high. And that means that in the MSA we want the word of Allah to be most high. On the West Coast we want the word of Allah to be most high.³²

He later added, “And we need to help reestablish the word of Allah Most High in every aspect. And so we all want to plug into this global Islamic Movement. We want to be part of the same family that these other groups around the world that are fighting in *Filistine* [Palestine] and fighting everywhere. We want to be part of that.”³³

II. ANOTHER AGENDA BEHIND MSA’S DA’WAH

Meaning Behind MSA’s Da’wah

MSA has played a key role in the Brotherhood-led Islamic Movement in North America since the 1960s, when the organization was established as one of the primary conduits for the proselytizing ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America.

Da’wah means proselytizing Islam. It is traditionally seen as a religious requirement for Muslims to perform da’wah. Da’wah also happens to have been a core issue for Hassan al-Banna. Under his direction, the Muslim Brotherhood directed itself towards reviving the concept of da’wah. At a 1995 Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA) conference in Toledo, Ohio, the world’s most influential Sunni scholar and the unofficial spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, explained the significance of da’wah, converting people to Islam, as a tool to spread the global Islamic Movement, stating, “Conquest through da’awa, that is what we hope for. We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America! Not through sword but through da’awa.”³⁴

As explained by MSA National on its website, “‘Da’wah’ means invitation, and refers specifically to inviting people to Islam.”³⁵ The primary way in which MSA carries out its stated mission of “spreading Islam as students in North America”³⁶ is through daw’ah.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Speech, MAYA Conference, Toledo, OH, 1995.

³⁵ “Da’wah Task Force,” MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/taskforces/dawah.html> (Accessed Nov. 16, 2005).



Even though MSA's da'wah campaign does also entail benign and legitimate religious work protected under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, some of these activities and statements by MSA indicate its true Islamist agenda.

At its national conferences, MSA promotes the idea that da'wah is a duty and a vital tool to further the goals of the global Islamic Movement. At MSA's 2006 East Zone Conference at the University of Maryland, speaker Shad Imam was explicit about the ultimate goal of da'wah, echoing Qaradawi's comments above, stating:

And as we go forth into the dunya [world] as ambassadors of Islam, we must remember the contributions, not just of the people in the past, but the contributions that you and I will make for this religion. What will those contributions be? How will it [be] 10 years from now, 20 years from now, generations from now? What will people say about this generation? Will they go back and say, "You know what -- these guys didn't know what they were doing." *Or will they look back and say, the institutions that we set up, the institutions that we built, the da'wah that we gave, because of this daw'ah, Islam has spread in this country and America is now a Muslim country [emphasis added].*³⁷

MSA student leaders and members consistently promote the message that da'wah is performed in the service of the global Islamic movement to spread and establish Islam. At the 2005 MSA West Conference cited above, Shama stated that the ultimate goal of da'wah is to establish an Islamic government. He declared:

The only justification -- the only justification -- that Muslims have to live in this country is da'wah. I say it again. It might be controversial...The only obligation that we have living in this country is da'wah...We are going to have a pretty good justification...and if we are not doing something to invite people to Islam, Muslims and non-Muslims, then we are missing the point what Islamic Movement is about...The end goal of everything I was talking about is the establishment of, the reestablishment of, Islamic form of government.³⁸

A document posted on MSA National's website entitled, "Dawa: Time to Come Out of Our Boxes," advises MSA members to strategically adapt their da'wah to the particular cultural sensibilities of North Americans, for instance in this excerpt instructing them how to define "jihad":

³⁶ "A Little Taste of History," MSA-National Website (Archive, March 21, 2005), <http://web.archive.org/web/20050321023458/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

³⁷ Shad Imam, Speech "Constancy of Character: Being Muslim 24-7," MSA East Zone 2006 Conference. University of Maryland, College Park. March 10-12, 2006.

³⁸ Ahmad Shama, Speech "Global Islamic Movements," Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation. 7th Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.



Instead of using “Holy War” to translate the word Jihad, use a more comprehensive and proper term like, “struggle” or “striving”... Try to use language that is more appealing to North Americans.³⁹

III. MSA’S ISLAMIST TIES

Many early leaders of MSA went on to form other Islamic organizations in America that spread Islam as espoused by the Muslim Brotherhood. As its website states, “MSA National was the precursor of ISNA [the Islamic Society of North America], ICNA [the Islamic Circle of North America], MAYA [the Muslim Arab Youth Association], IMA [the Islamic Medical Association of North America], AMSS [the Association of Muslim Social Scientists], AMSE [the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers], MYNA [Muslim Youth of North America], Islamic Book Service, and the North American Islamic Trust.”⁴⁰

MSA states on its website, “MSA National maintains continuous affiliation with ISNA. As an affiliate of ISNA, historically, the MSA National President has a seat on the ISNA Majlis Ash-shura. However, beyond this, ISNA does not have any direct involvement in MSA National affairs. In addition, the MSA Annual Continental Conference is held alongside ISNA.”⁴¹

Over the years, MSA has maintained ties to the organizations it spawned. The North American Islamic Trust (NAIT),⁴² the first U.S.-based Muslim financial trust, has played a key role in all of MSA’s financial dealings. MSA leaders have had high profile roles in other Islamic organizations, some of which have been linked to Islamic extremism.

Abdurahman Alamoudi served as acting president of MSA National from 1982 to 1983.⁴³ Alamoudi was also the founder and executive director of the American Muslim Council (AMC) in 1990.⁴⁴ AMC was once the most prominent Islamic public advocacy organization in America. He was also the director and president of the American Muslim Foundation,⁴⁵ the regional representative for the Washington, DC-area of ISNA,⁴⁶ member of the executive

³⁹ “Dawa: Time to Come Out of Our Boxes!” MSA-National Website, http://www.msa-national.org/dawah/time_box.html (Accessed August 13, 2007).

⁴⁰ “A Little Taste of History,” MSA-National Website (Archive, March 21, 2005), <http://web.archive.org/web/20050321023458/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

⁴¹ “Frequently Asked Questions About MSA of the US & Canada,” MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/about/faq.html#principles> (Accessed May 14, 2007).

⁴² Ilyas Ba-Yunus, “An American Journey: Graduating From MSA to ISNA,” *Islamic Horizons*, September/October 2003, 45.

⁴³ Resume of Abdurahman M. Alamoudi, 2.

⁴⁴ American Muslim Council, Form 1024 – Exhibit D, 1990.; Abdurahman Alamoudi, Guest CV, IslamOnline, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=7he3oT> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

⁴⁵ American Muslim Foundation, Articles of Incorporation, December 5, 1990.; Abdurahman Alamoudi, Guest CV, IslamOnline, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=7he3oT> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

⁴⁶ Abdurahman Alamoudi, Guest CV, IslamOnline, <http://www.islamonline.net/livedialogue/english/Guestcv.asp?hGuestID=7he3oT> (Accessed August 13, 2007).



committee of the Islamic Society of Boston,⁴⁷ and director of the United Association for Studies and Research.⁴⁸

In 2004, Alamoudi was sentenced to 23 years in jail in 2004 after pleading guilty to “violating the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), which imposes terrorism-related sanctions prohibiting unlicensed travel to and commerce with Libya; one count of false statements made in his application for naturalization; and a tax offense involving a long-term scheme to conceal from the IRS his financial transactions with Libya and his foreign bank accounts and to omit material information from the tax returns filed by his charities.”⁴⁹ The U.S. Treasury Department stated that Alamoudi had raised a million dollars for al Qaeda, adding that his arrest “was a severe blow to al Qaida, as Alamoudi had a close relationship with al Qaida.”⁵⁰

Ahmad Totonji, among MSA’s initial founders,⁵¹ became a key player in the Muslim Brotherhood-dominated⁵² SAAR network in Northern Virginia. Federal investigators have alleged that the SAAR network – composed of over 100 companies, charities, and organizations with interlocking boards of directors – may have financing ties to al Qaeda, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas.⁵³ The origins of the SAAR network reside with a group of Muslim scholars, businessmen, and scientists who gathered in the United States in the early 1980s.⁵⁴ The first SAAR entity, the SAAR Foundation, was incorporated in Virginia in 1983.⁵⁵

Members of the younger MSA generation have been linked to criminal activity. Ali Asad Chandia, former president of Montgomery College MSA,⁵⁶ was convicted in June 2006 on three counts of providing or conspiring to provide material support to the U.S.-designated terrorist organization Lashkar-e-Taiba.⁵⁷ Muhammad Al-Gurashi, former president of MSA

⁴⁷ Islamic Society of Boston, Form 1023, 1983.

⁴⁸ United Association for Studies and Research, Form 990, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997.

⁴⁹ “Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case,” U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, October 15, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm (Accessed December 29, 2005).

⁵⁰ “Treasury Designates MIRA for Support to Al Qaida,” US Treasury Department Press Release. July 14, 2005 <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2632.htm> (Accessed May 8, 2006).

⁵¹ “A Little Taste of History,” MSA-National Website (Archive, March 21, 2005), <http://web.archive.org/web/20050321023458/http://www.msa-national.org/about/history.html> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

⁴⁰ Douglas Farah and John Mintz. “U.S. Trails Va. Muslim Money,” *The Washington Post*, October 7, 2002.

⁵³ Redacted Affidavit In Support of Application, In the Matter of Searches Involving 555 Grove Street, Herndon, Virginia, and Related Locations, 02-114-MG (ED VA).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Virginia Secretary of State, SAAR Foundation Inc., Articles of Incorporation, 1983.

⁵⁶ Laurie Au and Megha Rajagopalan., “Terrorism Suspect Released on Bond: City Man Attended UMUC, Taught at Local Muslim School,” *Diamondbackonline.com*, September 21, 2005 <http://media.www.diamondbackonline.com/media/storage/paper873/news/2005/09/21/NewsOffCampus/Terrorism.Suspect.Released.On.Bond-2322573.shtml> (Accessed August 13, 2007)

⁵⁷ Jerry Markon, “Final Defendant Guilty in Va. Jihad,” *Washington Post*, June 7, 2006.; “Maryland Man Arrested on Charges of Providing Material Support to Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Designated Foreign Terrorist Organization,” United States Department of Justice Press Release, September 16, 2005, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2005/September/05_crm_482.html (Accessed January 4, 2006).



at Arizona State University,⁵⁸ was charged by a federal grand jury in 2003 with two counts of illegal possession of a firearm.⁵⁹ In July 2003, federal prosecutors stated that al-Gurashi agreed to be deported to Saudi Arabia and motioned for charges to be dismissed in order to avoid a waste of judicial resources.⁶⁰ Intelligence and law enforcement officials claimed that he rented a car with three other individuals and drove to Freeport, Texas and stopped at President George W. Bush's Crawford, Texas ranch to case it for a possible terrorist attack.⁶¹ One of these three friends was convicted of lying about his ties to 9/11 hijacker Hani Hanjour.⁶²

GIVING THE TALIBAN A STAGE ON CAMPUS

A key method by which MSA chapters around the country espouse and empower Islamist ideologies is by providing pulpits on U.S. college campuses to figures tied to extremist organizations, networks, and even governments. On March 10, 2001, the MSA of the University of Southern California (USC) invited Syed Rahmatullah Hashimi, senior advisor to Mullah Omar of the Taliban, to speak to students.

In his talk there, just 6 months before the 9/11 attacks, Hashimi accused the United States of exaggerating the threat posed by Osama bin Laden, stating that U.S. citizens were “taught...that bin Laden is saying all American civilians must be killed. That is the story of media, and the media here is very irresponsible. They are commercialized, and they’ll do anything for selling advertisements.”⁶³ Laying the blame on the United States and the media, Hashimi ignored bin Laden’s 1998 fatwa, which stated, “We, with God’s help, call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God’s order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.”⁶⁴

The MSA chapter at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey provided students on campus with access to the rhetoric of Islamic extremists, selling video tapes on its website of a speech given by the Taliban ambassador at Drew on May 3, 2000.⁶⁵

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⁵⁸ Joe Watson, “Token Arab: Neo-conservative Muslim Oubai Shahbandar Has Been Called a Liar, a Forgerer, a Plagiarist,” *Phoenix New Times* (Arizona), April 8, 2004.

⁵⁹ *U.S. v. Muhammad A.S. Al-Gurashi*, CR-03-473, “Indictment” (D AZ, May 8, 2003).

⁶⁰ *U.S. v. Muhammad A.S. Al-Gurashi*, CR-03-473, “Motion to Dismiss Without Prejudice” (D AZ, July 7, 2003).

⁶¹ James Gordon Meek, “Arab Student Tied to September 11 Hijackers May Have Cased Bush Ranch,” *New York Daily News*, May 17, 2003.

⁶² Dennise Wagner, “Security, Rights, Butting Heads; Muslim Crime Suspects in Arizona Feel Victimized by Terror Crackdown,” *Arizona Republic* (Phoenix), September 14, 2003.

⁶³ Syed Rahmatullah Hashimi, Speech University of Southern California, March 10, 2001.

⁶⁴ “Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders,” World Islamic Front Statement, February 23, 1998, <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm> (Accessed May 21, 2007).

⁶⁵ “The Taleban Speak,” MSA at Drew University Website, <http://www.geocities.com/bluedrewduck/taleban.html> (Accessed August 13 2007).



Syed Maaz Shah, an electrical engineering student at the University of Texas (Dallas campus) who served as secretary of the university's MSA, was arrested by the FBI and detained for possession of a firearm by a non-U.S. citizen.⁶⁶ Born in Pakistan, Shah had lived for several years with his parents in the United States, who relocated later on in Nigeria; his younger brother is enrolled at the University of Texas. Shah, who was awarded a university scholarship, was described by his aunt during the detention hearing as an excellent student.⁶⁷ He had entered the United States on a student visa, which was revoked in January 2006.⁶⁸

The two FBI agents assigned to the international counter-terrorism squad in Houston, Texas, revealed that they started the investigation in 2005. They recounted that Shah was present during at least two camping trips during which he participated in firearms training using live rounds. Shah and the other campers were recorded talking about jihad and martyrdom. Shah also displayed his passport and asked one of his companions if "he wanted to see the passport of a terrorist."⁶⁹

The charges against Shah stemmed from these camping trips outside Houston with three others in 2005.⁷⁰ Two of Shah's companions on the camping trip were indicted in 2006 for conspiring to "offer financial support to Taliban fighters (hereafter 'the fighters') and their families; and (2) to train with firearms to hone their skills for battlefield jihad."⁷¹ These charges stem from the same camping trip. The fourth individual was charged, like Shah, with illegal firearms possession.⁷² In April 2007, prosecutors added charges of being in the country illegally against Shah.⁷³ On May 24, 2007, Shah was convicted on two counts of firearms possession by an alien.⁷⁴ One of Shah's companions, Kobe Williams, pled guilty to the conspiracy charge in late 2006.⁷⁵ Adnan Mirza's trial is scheduled to begin in October 2007.⁷⁶ Shiraz Syed Qazi was found guilty of the firearms charge in January 2007 and was sentenced to 10 months in prison.⁷⁷

MSA AND RADICALIZATION

A report issued by the New York City Police Department in 2007 noted the contribution of MSA chapters to the proliferation of Islamist and Salafist⁷⁸ ideology. The report stated:

⁶⁶ *USA v. Shah*, SDTX 06-CR-428, "Indictment" Nov. 11, 2006.

⁶⁷ *USA v. Syed Maaz Shah*, 06-MJ-486, "Detention Hearing" (ND TX December 1, 2006).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Juan A. Lozano, "Pakistani student tied to terror plot convicted on gun charge," *Associated Press*, January 31, 2007.

⁷¹ *US v. Kobie Diallo Williams and Adnan Babar Mirza*, 06-421, "Indictment," (SD TX, November 2006).

⁷² *US v. Shiraz Syed Qazi*, 06-427, "Indictment" (SD TX, November 28, 2006).

⁷³ Cindy George, "Your Government; At the Courthouse," *Houston Chronicle*, April 20, 2007.

⁷⁴ *US v. Syed Maaz Shah*, H-06-428, "Jury Verdict," (SD TX, May 24, 2007).

⁷⁵ Cindy George, "Pakistani found guilty of gun charge," *Houston Chronicle*, January 31, 2007.

⁷⁶ Jason Trahan, "UTD student from Pakistan convicted of possessing, firing weapon," *Dallas Morning News*, May 25, 2007.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; Cindy George, "Pakistani found guilty of gun charge," *Houston Chronicle*, January 31, 2007.

⁷⁸ Salafism is an austere form of Islam within the Sunni sect that attempts to return to what its adherents believe to be unadulterated Islam as was practiced by Muhammad and his Companions. In order to achieve this, Salafis



Among the social networks of the local university population, there appears to be a growing trend of Salafi-based radicalization that has permeated some Muslim student associations (MSA's). Extremists have used these university-based organizations as forums for the development and recruitment of likeminded individuals – providing a receptive platform for younger, American-born imams, to present a radical message in a way that resonates with the students. For example, one book increasingly being cited for discussion by many of these associations is Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab's *Kitab At-Tawheed*, the foundational book for Wahhabi Islam.⁷⁹

IV. MSA PUBLICATIONS

The Washington, D.C.-based MSA National, MSA University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA), and the Muslim Student Union (an MSA chapter) at the University of California-Irvine (UC-Irvine) issue publications that are distributed on campus and often made available to students and other audiences nationwide. UCLA's Muslim student newspaper, *al-Talib*, has a targeted distribution of 20,000 copies per issue, which includes mosques, community centers, and campuses nationwide.⁸⁰ UC-Irvine's *Alkalima* circulates to 15,000 readers across the United States.⁸¹ Some of these publications are also available on the Internet. The rhetoric and ideology expressed in these publications is cause for concern.

The July 1999 issue of *al-Talib* featured an editorial by MSA staff entitled, "The Spirit of Jihad." This editorial was published after it was well-known by the public that Osama bin Laden's terrorist network was behind the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya that killed 225 people and wounded more than 4,000. Most of the victims of these attacks were African civilians and many were Muslims. The editorial stated:

When we hear someone refer to the great Mujahid (someone who struggles in Allah's cause) Osama bin Laden as a "terrorist," we should defend our brother and refer to him as a freedom fighter; someone who has forsaken wealth and power to fight in Allah's cause and speak out against oppressors. We take these stances only to please Allah.⁸²

Osama bin Laden's photograph is even featured on the cover, and he is referred to as a "freedom fighter and philanthropist."⁸³

strip out what they see as *bida*, or innovations, from the practice of Islam as it has developed over the centuries. Most major Sunni terrorist organizations, including al Qaeda, claim to ascribe to Salafism. Wahhabism is the Saudi brand of Islam.

⁷⁹ Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat* (New York Police Department, 2007).

⁸⁰ "Advertise," Al-Talib Website, <http://www.al-talib.com/> (Accessed June 14, 2006).

⁸¹ "FAQ," Alkalima Website, <http://www.alkalima.com/?page=FAQ> (Accessed October 28, 2005).

⁸² "Jihad in America; maintaining an Islamic identity in an un-Islamic environment," *al-Talib*, MSA University of California-Los Angeles, July 1999, editorial page.

⁸³ "On the Cover," *al-Talib*, MSA University of California-Los Angeles, July 1999, editorial page.



An article in the November 2000 issue of *al-Talib*, entitled, “Survival of a Nation: Twenty Years of War in Afghanistan,” defends the Taliban and endorses the goals of al Qaeda co-founder and bin Laden-mentor, Abdullah Azzam. The article states:

In most Islamic and Western media...[the Taliban] are branded as Islamic fundamentalists who practice a harsh interpretation of Islam...The Taliban insist that a return to normalcy after 20 years of war will take time and patience. We pray that Sheikh 'Azzam's dream of a true Islamic State comes true.⁸⁴

The same article quotes bin Laden as an authority of the virtues of the Taliban regime.⁸⁵

In September 2001, the issue was titled, “Philippines: the Forgotten Jihad.” The featured article's author lamented what he describes as the “targeted distortion” of Abu Sayyaf, a group allied to al Qaeda and directly tied to the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. In fact, the year before this article was published in *al-Talib*, this terrorist group, “captured an American Muslim visiting Jolo Island and demanded that the United States release Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and Ramzi Yousef, who were jailed for their involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. ‘We have been trying hard to get an American because they may think we are afraid of them,’ a spokesman for Abu Sayyaf said. ‘We want to fight the American people.’”⁸⁶ Regarding this terrorist group, the *al-Talib* article sarcastically and cynically contended:

The marginal Abu Sayyaf are actually beneficial for the United States because they give the United States an excuse to be in the Philippines. After all, America's just helping the government get past its nasty Muslim problem, nothing else.⁸⁷

The June 2004 issue of UC-Irvine's *Alkalima* contained an opinion piece praising Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hizballah, and describing Hamas-founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and former Hamas senior leader Abd Al-Aziz Al-Rantisi as martyrs. The article states:

...the Arab people have realized that the only solution to the Zionist situation is through military force, which is espoused by Hamas, Hizb' Allah, Islamic jihad, and other Islamic resistance organizations.

...Arab countries have come to realize that the only group able to liberate land from the Zionists was Hizb' Allah. Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, who only had control of his tongue, stuck to his correct legitimate ideology and was assassinated as a hero of the Palestinian people and Muslims worldwide.

⁸⁴ Salik Yusuf, “Survival of a Nation: Twenty Years of War in Afghanistan,” *Al-Talib*, November 2000.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ “Backgrounder; Abu Sayyaf Group,” Council on Foreign Relations, updated January 23, 2007, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/9235/> (Accessed April 5, 2007).

⁸⁷ Salar Rizvi, “The Philippines; mapping out the conflict; Targeted Distortion; the media agenda,” *Al-Talib*, September 2001.



...Just as the legacy of those before them has grown after their martyrdom - as has been the case with Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Malcolm X - Sheikh Yassin and Dr. Rantissi have joined these martyrs in the Islamic Movement; their influence on future generations will be immense.⁸⁸

It is important to note the honorable mention in this passage of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.

UC Irvine's Muslim student magazine, *AlKalima*, and UCLA MSA's *al-Talib* jointly published a special report entitled, "Zionism: The Forgotten Apartheid."⁸⁹ The report contained thinly veiled anti-Semitic bigotry, stating:

As the Zionists continue to colonize, torture and ethnically-cleanse in the name of the 'peace process' and the Americans continue to fund them, the respective staffs of *Al-Talib* and *AlKalima* feel it to be their basic duty to expose Zionism, its evils and its effects...Zionist-controlled world media has been purposefully distorting and misconstruing world events too long.⁹⁰

The report devoted a section to "the resistance movements against Zionist aggression,"⁹¹ portraying terrorist groups Hamas and Hizballah in a favorable light.

An article in the June 2003 issue of *al-Talib*, entitled, "In the Face of the Enemy: Rachel Corrie's Stand Against Oppression," accused Israel of perpetrating genocide against Palestinians. It stated:

With the alleged "War on Terror" and the Palestinian people conveniently slipping right into the label of "terrorists," Sharon essentially has millions of sympathizers, including President Bush and his administration. And with the war on Iraq clogging up the main media outlets, Israel is almost completely free to creep around the distracted cameras and finish the controlled genocide in Palestine.⁹²

V. MSA'S INTERNET ACTIVITIES

⁸⁸ Abdulrahman Hachache, "The Assassination of Sheikh Yassin and Dr. Rantissi: Why the assassinations will have serious consequences for 'Israel' and the Islamic Resistance Movement," *Alkalima*, Jun. 2004, 14.

⁸⁹ "Zionism: The Forgotten Apartheid," *Alkalima*, MSA University of California-Irvine Publication. Collected at Islamic Association for Palestine Conference, Chicago, December 21-25, 2001.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Sondos Kholoki, "In the Face of the Enemy: Rachel Corrie's Stand Against Oppression," *Al-Talib*, Jun. 2003 at p. 10.



MSA NATIONAL ACTION ALERTS, NEWS STATEMENTS AND PRESS RELEASES

In a statement issued by the MSA's Political Action Task Force (PATF) on March 22, 2004, MSA National said that it "strongly condemns the assassination of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the spiritual leader and founder of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS) in the Occupied Palestinian Territories."⁹³

An Action Alert issued in 2004 by MSA's National Political Action Task Force (PATF) urged members to "send letters of support, encouragement and kind words to our Muslim political prisoners."⁹⁴ A number of prison inmates are described as "leading American Muslim activists"⁹⁵ The list includes figures such as Abdurahman Alamoudi, Sami al-Arian, Randall "Ismail" Royer, and Imam Jamil Al-Amin. This list was posted on the MSA-National website in 2004, before *some* of these figures were convicted of their respective crimes, but as of mid 2007, all of these men are incarcerated and a link to this list remains on the Political Action webpage on the MSA-National Website.⁹⁶

As explained above, **Abdurahman Alamoudi** was charged in 2003 with immigration fraud, tax evasion and illegal financial dealings with Libya. He pled guilty in 2004 to three federal offenses. Alamoudi was sentenced to 23 years in jail.⁹⁷ In July 2005, the U.S. Treasury Department declared that Alamoudi had raised money for al Qaeda in the United States and had facilitated the transfer of about \$1 million to organizations and individuals with links to al Qaeda.⁹⁸

Sami al-Arian, a University of South Florida Computer Science professor, was indicted in February 2003⁹⁹, after a ten year investigation, on charges of establishing and operating the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) network in the United States. In December 2005, after a six month trial, al-Arian was acquitted of eight charges, while the jury deadlocked on the nine other charges,¹⁰⁰ including conspiracy to provide material support to PIJ.

On April 14, 2006, after more than a decade of denying any involvement with PIJ, and five months after the conclusion of his jury trial, Sami al-Arian pled guilty to

⁹³ "Statement from the Muslim Students Association-National," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/news/yassin.htm> (Accessed October 6, 2005).

⁹⁴ "Political Action Task Force Alerts," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/news/patf.htm>, (Accessed April 26, 2007).

⁹⁵ "Political Action Task Force Alerts," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/news/patf.htm>, (Accessed April 26, 2007).

⁹⁶ "Political Action Task Force page," MSA-National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/news/patf.htm>, (Accessed April 26, 2007).

⁹⁷ "Abdurahman Alamoudi Sentenced to Jail in Terrorism Financing Case," United States Department of Justice Press Release, October 15, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/October/04_crm_698.htm (Accessed January 3, 2006).

⁹⁸ "Treasury Designated MIRA for Support to Al Qaeda," US Department of Treasury Press Room, July 14, 2005, <http://www.treas.gov/press/releases/js2632.htm> (Accessed Nov. 1, 2005).

⁹⁹ John Mintz, "Professor Indicted as Terrorist Leader," Washington Post, February 21, 2003.

¹⁰⁰ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, "Verdict Form," (MD FL December 6, 2005).



“conspiracy to make or receive contributions of funds, goods or services to or for the benefit of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a Specially Designated Terrorist.” Conditions of his guilty plea included his submission to ICE for deportation proceedings.”¹⁰¹

As part of the plea agreement, al-Arian admitted that he “performed services for the PIJ in 1995 and thereafter” and that he was “aware that the PIJ achieved its objectives by, among other means, acts of violence.”¹⁰² The agreement states that the services al-Arian performed “included filing for immigration benefits for individuals associated with the PIJ, hiding the identities of individuals associated with the PIJ, and providing assistance for an individual associated with the PIJ in a United States Court proceeding.”¹⁰³

While the MSA Action Alert was sent out two years before al-Arian pled guilty, al-Arian had been well-known in the Islamic community since at least the early 1990s for being an advocate for terrorism against Israelis. Additionally, al-Arian’s inflammatory language calling for terrorism had been widely publicized since his indictment in 2003, the year before the Action Alert was issued. For example, at the Islamic Center of Cleveland in 1991, when Fawaz Damrah introduced him, he said that al-Arian “heads the ICP - and as small excerpt about the ICP - it is the active arm of the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine in North America. We call it the ICP here for security reasons.”¹⁰⁴ Al-Arian, in his speech, said that “we must continue with the Resistance . . . let's damn America, let's damn Israel, let's damn their allies until death.”¹⁰⁵

Randall Royer was the ringleader of the Virginia Paintball Jihad cell, which consisted of eleven men who participated in combat training with paintball guns and sought terrorist training to fight with on the side of the Taliban after the 9/11 attacks. The cell members were indicted in 2003 for their involvement with Lashkar e Taiba (LeT),¹⁰⁶ an al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist organization based in Pakistan and for conspiring to levy war against the United States and provide material support to al Qaeda.¹⁰⁷ Royer decided to seek a plea agreement and pled guilty to weapons and explosives charges in January 2004.¹⁰⁸ He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

¹⁰² *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 at 11 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

¹⁰³ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Plea Agreement,” 1563 (MD FL April 14, 2006).

¹⁰⁴ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Exhibit T565,” 1563 at 11 (MD FL), Fawaz Damrah, Islamic Center of Cleveland, April 7, 1991.

¹⁰⁵ *USA v. Al Arian, et al*, 03-CR-77, “Exhibit” (MD FL), Video, Sami al Arian, Islamic Center of Cleveland, April 7, 1991.

¹⁰⁶ *USA v. Royer, et al*, 03-CR-296, “Indictment” (ED VA June 25 2003).

¹⁰⁷ *USA v. Royer, et al*, 03-CR-296, “Superseding Indictment” (ED VA September 25 2003).

¹⁰⁸ “Two Defendants in Virginia Jihad Case Plead Guilty to Weapons Charges, Will Cooperate with Ongoing Investigations,” U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, January 16, 2004.

http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/January/04_crm_030.htm (Accessed August 13, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ “Randall Todd Royer and Ibrahim Ahmed Al-Hamdi Sentenced for Participation in Virginia Jihad Network,” U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, April 9, 2004.

http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/April/04_crm_225.htm (Accessed August 13, 2007).



Jamil Al-Amin (a.k.a. H. Rap Brown) was convicted in 2002 of murdering a Fulton County deputy sheriff and sentenced to life in prison.¹¹⁰

In April of 2005, MSA-National also released a statement calling for the “presence and volunteerism”¹¹¹ of MSA members at a fundraising dinner in support of Ahmed Omar Abu Ali and Abdulhaleem Ashqar.¹¹² Abu Ali was convicted by a federal jury in November 2005 of plotting with al Qaeda operatives to assassinate President George W. Bush and conspiracy to commit acts of terrorism.¹¹³ He was sentenced to thirty years in prison in March of 2006.¹¹⁴ Abdelhaleem Ashqar was indicted for his alleged participation in a racketeering conspiracy involving members of the terrorist group Hamas in the United States, who allegedly raised and transferred millions of dollars to Hamas, a charge for which he was acquitted in 2007.¹¹⁵ However, the jury found him guilty for obstruction of justice and contempt of court.¹¹⁶

An editorial published in June 2004 in Dartmouth’s student newspaper, *The Dartmouth*, entitled “Preaching Hatred at Dartmouth,” exposed anti-Semitic remarks posted on the website of the college’s MSA chapter, *Al-Nur*.¹¹⁷ Following publication of the article, *Al-Nur* apologized, and soon thereafter, its website was “under construction.” A visit to the archived website in question reveals that *Al-Nur* had quoted a virulently anti-Semitic Hadith (saying of the Prophet Muhammad) and provided equally hateful commentary.¹¹⁸ The Hadith and commentary follow:

1820. Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) said: The Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said, “The Last Hour will not come until the Muslims fight against the Jews, until a Jew will hide himself behind a stone or a tree, and the stone or the tree will say: ‘O Muslim, there is a Jew behind me. Come and kill him,’ but Al-Gharqad tree will not say so, for it is the tree of the Jews.”

Commentary: Gharqad is a thorny plant which is well-known in the area of Palestine. Allah can bestow the power of speech to whatever thing He likes. When Allah wills, He will give mastery to the Muslims. He will help them even by means of

¹¹⁰ “Murder verdict upheld of ‘60s activist known as H. Rap Brown,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 25, 2004.

¹¹¹ “Justice Fundraising Dinner,” Muslim Student Association Listserv Post, <http://listserv.american.edu/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind0504e&L=aumsa-l&T=0&P=83>, April 29, 2005, (Accessed April 26, 2007).

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ *USA v. Ahmed Omar Abu Ali*, Criminal No. 1:05-CR-53, U.S. District for the Eastern District of Virginia, Alexandria Division, “Superceding Indictment” September 8, 2005.

¹¹⁴ “Ahmed Omar Abu Ali Sentenced to Prison on Terrorism Charges,” U.S. Department of Justice Press Release, March 29, 2006.

¹¹⁵ *USA v. Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, et al.*, 03-CR-978, “Second Superceding Indictment” August 19, 2004.

¹¹⁶ *USA v. Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, et al.*, 03-CR-978, “Verdict Notice” February 1, 2007.

¹¹⁷ Ilya Feoktistov, “Preaching Hatred at Dartmouth,” *The Dartmouth*, Jun. 29, 2004, <http://web.archive.org/web/20060906084941/http://www.thedartmouth.com/article.php?aid=2004062902010> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

¹¹⁸ Web Archive of Dartmouth *Al Nur* Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20030421234820/www.dartmouth.edu/~alnur/ISLAM/HADITH/RIYADH_AS_SA_LIHEEN/book19.htm (Accessed August 13, 2007).



plants and stones which will assist the Muslims against the Jews by informing them about the whereabouts of the Jews. The Jews have predominance over the Muslims in spite of the fact that they are a minority. But according to this true narration, the situation will definitely change before the Day of Resurrection, and the Muslims will dominate the Jews. Allah is the Master and Rubb of everything.¹¹⁹

A document on MSA-USC's website, entitled "Shattering Ten Misconceptions About Islam," rejects "pure democracy" and promotes rule by Islamic law, as follows (emphasis in original):

...**the Islamic state must derive its law from the Qur'an and Sunnah.** This principle **excludes** certain choices from the Islamic state's options for political and economic systems, such as pure democracy, unrestricted capitalism, communism, socialism, etc. For example, a pure democracy places the people above the Qur'an and Sunnah, and this is disobedience to the Creator. However, the best alternative to pure democracy is democracy that implements and enforces the Shari'ah (Islamic Law).

...This is the methodology of the Islamic state, to consult one another, but to always keep the Qur'an and Sunnah paramount. *Any law which contradicts the Qur'an or Sunnah is unlawful.*¹²⁰

On the website of MSA South Seattle Community College, a piece entitled "A Cry From Palestine" gives the following opinion about the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (emphasis and spelling errors in original):

We are willing to live in peace the second that all the AMERICAN and EUROPEAN jews are back in their proper land. We don't want war, we want fairness and peace. These people of Palestine will not compromise until the Jewish "ZIONIST" Government is out of Palestine. Until then we are going to fight until our blood covers the streets, we are going to fight for our kids, for our ancestors, we are going to fight until the land is once again ours. We are going to fight until we can live in peace like the muslims did before Palestine was taken by Jews. Inshallah every last blood of Muslims will be accounted for, and every last peace of dirt will be in peace with out a gun sound. Inshallah we can live in peace with everyone is Palestine, once Palestine is controlled by Muslims. Inshallah Allah will grant us victory in this life and the next.¹²¹

The homepage of MSA at Drew University¹²² links to a list of Islamic websites¹²³ that includes such extremist organizations as:

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ "Shattering Ten Misconceptions About Islam," MSA-USC Website, <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/notislam/misconceptions.html> (Accessed August 13, 2007).

¹²¹ "Around the World," S.S.C.C. MSA Website, (Archive) <http://web.archive.org/web/20051214231649/http://sscc.msanw.org/world.htm> (Accessed June 4, 2007).

¹²² "MSA at Drew University Website." <http://groups.drew.edu/msa/> (Accessed August 13, 2007).



Hizb-ut-Tahrir¹²⁴ is a Muslim organization, banned in many countries, that is dedicated to the establishment of a world-wide Muslim Caliphate. While this organization claims that it is nonviolent in nature, Hizb-ut-Tahrir members have been implicated in some terrorist plots. For example, Hizb ut-Tahrir has had a close relationship with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), an al Qaeda-allied terrorist organization. They share many of the same members. The more violently inclined of Hizb-ut-Tahrir have gravitated toward IMU. Hizb-ut-Tahrir is a “nominally nonviolent but extremist Islamic religious movement that seeks to establish an Islamic caliphate throughout Central Asia (including China’s Xinjiang Province).”¹²⁵ Their international headquarters are in London.¹²⁶ Hizb-ut-Tahrir members in Central Asia have distributed leaflets calling for violent revolution, assassination, and retribution against U.S. soldiers for what they see as a Western war waged on Islam. Members of the organization have been arrested in Russia by the FSB with explosives in their Moscow headquarters. Hizb-ut-Tahrir members with explosives have also been arrested in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.¹²⁷

Jamaat-i-Islami¹²⁸ is the sister movement to the Muslim Brotherhood. It was founded in Lahore in present-day Pakistan in 1941 by Sayyid Abulala Mawdudi.¹²⁹ Like the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamaat-i-Islami seeks to establish an Islamic government with a constitution based on the Quran and sharia.¹³⁰ Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, the mastermind of the 9/11 attacks, was arrested in the home of a Jamaat-i-Islami official in Pakistan.¹³¹

Holy Land Foundation¹³² is an Islamic charity whose assets were frozen in December 2001 by the FBI and Treasury Department based on charges that it had raised funds for Hamas; among HLF’s founders was Musa Abu Marzooq, a political leader of Hamas currently located in Damascus, Syria with Hamas leader Khalid Mishaal.¹³³ In July 2004, a federal grand jury indicted HLF on charges including

¹²³ “List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web,” Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed December 5, 2005).

¹²⁴ “List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web,” Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2006).

¹²⁵ Richard Weitz, “Storm Clouds over Central Asia,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 507.

¹²⁶ Roger N McDermott, “Countering Global Terrorism: Developing the Anti-Terrorist Capabilities of Central Asian Militaries,” *Strategic Studies Institute* (February 2004), 6.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁸ “List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web,” Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2006).

¹²⁹ Charles Allen, *God’s Terrorists* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2006), 270.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 271.

¹³¹ “Pakistan Minister Confirms Al-Qa’idah Suspect Arrested at Jamaat Activist’s House,” *PTV World* (Islamabad), *BBC Monitoring*, March 4, 2003.

¹³² “List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web,” Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2006).

¹³³ “Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network.” U.S. Treasury Department Press Release. December 4, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm> (Accessed January 9, 2006).



providing material support to a foreign terrorist organization.¹³⁴ In December 2004 a federal judge held HLF (along with the Islamic Association for Palestine, or IAP) liable in a \$156 million dollar lawsuit for aiding and abetting the terrorist group Hamas in the murder of a 17-year old American citizen.¹³⁵ The terrorist financing trial against the Holy Land Foundation began in Dallas in July 2007.

Islamic Association for Palestine¹³⁶ was Hamas' primary political support organization in the United States. A 2001 Immigration and Naturalization Service memo documented IAP's support for Hamas and found that the "facts strongly suggest" that IAP was "part of Hamas' propaganda apparatus."¹³⁷

IAP came up in a memorandum opinion in the case of *Holy Land Foundation v. Ashcroft*, in which the Holy Land Foundation unsuccessfully sued then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to challenge its designation as a Specially Designated Terrorist Entity. HLF U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler found the following:

Further, there is evidence in the record that, at the same time Hamas was funding HLF, it was also funding a network of organizations connected to HLF. There is evidence that at least one of these organizations, Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas. [footnote 17 in this document reads, "There is evidence in the record that IAP distributes information on behalf of Hamas. See AR 1499-1535.] The Government contends that HLF knew of Hamas' funding of these organizations because HLF's leaders were associated with or related on a familial basis to the leaders of the other funded organizations.¹³⁸

In November 2004, a federal magistrate judge held IAP civilly liable for \$156 million in the 1996 shooting of an American citizen by a Hamas member in the West Bank.¹³⁹ The judge found that IAP had "published and distributed an abundance of pro-Hamas documents."¹⁴⁰

Human Concern International¹⁴¹ is a charity that has been tied to al Qaeda. In a 1996 interview with *Rose al-Yusuf*, Osama bin Ladin referred to his own work as: "To put it simply the Bin Ladin Establishment's Aid covers 13 countries, including

¹³⁴ "Holy Land Foundation, Leaders Accused of Providing Material Support to Hamas Terrorist Organization." US Department of Justice Press Release, July 27, 2004.

http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/July/04_crm_514.htm (Accessed January 9, 2006).

¹³⁵ *David Boim v. Quranic Literac*, 00 C 2905. "Judgment in a Civil Case" December 18, 2004.

¹³⁶ "List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web," Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2006).

¹³⁷ In the matter of Hasan Faisal Yousef Sabri, Notice of Revocation of petition for Amerasian, Widow, or Special Immigrant (Form I-360), Attachment.

¹³⁸ *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. John Ashcroft*, 02-442, "Memorandum Opinion" 21 (D DC, August 8, 2002).

¹³⁹ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al*, 111 00-CV-2905 "Memorandum and Order" Nov. 10, 2004.

¹⁴⁰ *Boim v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et al*, 111 00-CV-2905 "Memorandum and Order" Nov. 10, 2004.

¹⁴¹ "List of Islamic Links on the World Wide Web," Islamic Voice Website, <http://www.islamicvoice.com/links.htm> (Accessed January 2, 2006).



Albania, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Netherlands, Britain, Romania, Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, and some Gulf countries which there is no need to mention.” He continues, “This aid, comes in particular from the Human Concern International Society, which was founded in Afghanistan in 1982.” Fayizah Sa’d then mentioned in the article that bin Ladin was one of the founders of that society.¹⁴²

The website of MSA at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute provides a link to “The Forty Hadith.”¹⁴³ One of these, called “The Concept of Jihad,”¹⁴⁴ offers a translation and incendiary commentary about jihad and the supremacy of Islam over other religions. The translation of the Hadith reads:

I have been ordered to fight against people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah and until they perform the prayers and pay the zakat, and if they do so they will have gained protection from me for their lives and property, unless [they do acts that are punishable] in accordance with Islam, and their reckoning will be with Allah the Almighty.¹⁴⁵

The translation is accompanied by a commentary, whose inflammatory nature is illustrated by the following excerpts:

A third opinion interprets the *hadith* as saying that people have to accept the domination or supremacy of Islam - that Islam is the dominant religion. This objective is to be achieved by whatever means, whether it is through fighting or through peaceful agreements.¹⁴⁶

We should be practicing the great values, concepts and principles of Islam and following its rulings and guidelines. If we do so, this will portray the real image of Islam and make us the perfect model for other societies, communities and nations. Only then will the non-Muslims feel attracted to Islam and may accept the dominance of Islam in their society.¹⁴⁷

The Muslim community is encountering two kinds of challenges - the internal challenges (some of which were previously mentioned) and the external challenges which are being imposed on them by the opponents of Islam. Those opponents are coming up with different ways of “fighting” and trying to rule the Muslim world. These external challenges include all aspects of globalisation, modernity, change of lifestyle, technology misuse, changing values, etc.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² “Islamic Financier Bin-Laden Interviewed on Sudan, Iran Ties,” *Rose Al-Yusif*, Jun. 17, 1996.

¹⁴³ “Hadith of the Day,” MSA-Rensselaer, http://msa.union.rpi.edu/Joomla/index.php?option=com_weblinks&catid=17&Itemid=38 (Accessed June 4, 2007).

¹⁴⁴ “The Hadiths,” Forty Hadith, <http://fortyhadith.iiu.edu.my/hadiths.htm> (Accessed June 4, 2007).

¹⁴⁵ “The Concept of Jihad,” Forty Hadith, <http://fortyhadith.iiu.edu.my/hadith08.htm> (Accessed June 4, 2007).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.



The opponents of Islam are promoting evil and negative concepts through new ways and means... The latest findings of researches and studies, like cognitive psychology, are used to influence the world, including the Muslims, to change their attitudes, values and even beliefs.¹⁴⁹

When we use technology, e.g. the Internet, we must use it in a way where we are the ones who control it, and not as a manipulation tool of others. We should use it in our *da'wah*, as a form of counter manipulation.¹⁵⁰

VI. MSA CONFERENCES

On February 4, 1999, the MSA chapter at Southwest Missouri State University (SMSU) held a conference. Kamran A. Bokhari, the official spokesperson for al Muhajiroun in North America, was one of the speakers.¹⁵¹ Bokhari was also the MSA-SMSU planning coordinator.¹⁵² Al Muhajiroun is a now-defunct British-based extremist organization founded by Omar Bakri Muhammad.¹⁵³ Al Muhajiroun was well-known for its praise of terrorism and inflammatory anti-Western militant rhetoric. In 1997, *The Guardian* wrote a 9,000 word story on Bakri Muhammad that explained his activities and positions.¹⁵⁴ The article reported that Bakri Muhammad asserted that homosexuals and adulterers should be stoned to death and that it was the duty of every Muslim to kill Jews in Israel.¹⁵⁵ He also stated that Great Britain was a legitimate target for terrorist attacks “because London called for the destruction of the Khalifate on March 3, 1924.”¹⁵⁶ In 1998, it was reported that al Muhajiroun members sought to launch terrorist attacks in Britain retaliation for American and British bombing missions against Iraq.¹⁵⁷ In 2003, Omar Bakri Muhammad became infamous for referring to the September 11, hijackers as the “Magnificent 19.”¹⁵⁸

In February 1998, the official MSA listserv distributed an al Muhajiroun fatwa against the U.S. and British governments. The fatwa read:

The Fatwa is Jihad against the US and British governments, armies, interests, airports and institutions and it has been given by the most prominent scholars of Islam today

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ “Subject: THE CRISIS IN IRAQ: Feb 4 Seminar,” MSA NEWS, January 28, 1999.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Chris Zambelis, “Arrest of American Islamist Highlights Homegrown Terrorist Threat,” *Terrorism Focus*, Volume 3, Issue 25, *Jamestown Foundation*, June 27, 2006.

¹⁵⁴ Jon Ronson, “Oh, What a Lovely Jihad,” *Guardian*, March 29, 1997.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Omar Bakri Muhammad quoted in Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Julian Kossoff, “Muslim extremists in Britain planning to attack ‘soft military targets,’” *Independent*, December 20, 1998.

¹⁵⁸ Rosie DiManno, “For some, 9/11 isn't for mourning,” *Toronto Star*, September 11 2003.; Serge F. Kovaleski, “Young Muslims in Britain Hear Competing Appeals,” *New York Times*, August 29, 2006.



because of the US and British aggression against Muslims and the Muslim land of Iraq.¹⁵⁹

Despite the fact that the listserve always included a disclaimer¹⁶⁰ and that MSA has asserted that they do not support terrorism against non-combatant civilians,¹⁶¹ the fact remains that MSA distributed material calling for attacks against the United States. This is one of many MSA disseminations of al Muhajiroun propaganda. Interestingly, this bothered one MSA listserve recipient, Adam Giorgiou, so much that he wrote to the editors at MSA responsible for the listserve in October 1998. Giorgiou wrote:

Dear MSANews editors

I have a question; why is al-Muhajiroun still being permitted to speak on the MSANews list? Didn't MSA already promise that we, the subscribers, would not have to put up with their rubbish?

I also find Mr. Bokhari's statements on Al Muhajiroun to be quite contradictory with the leader, Sheikh Umer Bakri Mohammed. Mr. Bokhari seems to imply that the group is peaceful in nature, when anyone who has read Mohammed's stuff, or spoken to any members, would know that is totally wrong. Plus, he denies any link to Bin Laden; didn't Bakri already claim that they're his spokesman just a few weeks ago?

If MSA promises us that we won't have to put up with this kind of racist group, then why do they go back on their promise? This lowers the standard of MSA. We don't want them. We don't need them.

Adam Giorgiou¹⁶²

In the face of this sentiment, MSA News agreed to censor some of al Muhajiroun's releases.¹⁶³ However, a few short months later, in January of 1999, MSA once again distributed an al Muhajiroun message titled, "Jihad is the Islamic Solution to Western Aggression in Iraq."¹⁶⁴ MSA later reported to have initiated a ban against material from Omar Bakri Mohammed,¹⁶⁵ but this did not stop the MSA listserve from sending out an interview with Bakri Mohammed in early in 2001 in which he defended against accusations of his ties to Osama bin Laden, but stated that he and his organization "vocally and publicly

¹⁵⁹ "Al-Muhajiroun Jihad Fatwa Against US & BRITAIN," MSANews, February 12, 1998.

¹⁶⁰ The disclaimer read: "Views expressed on MSANEWS do not necessarily represent those of the MSANEWS editors, the Ohio State University or any of our associated staff and "watchers". Further distribution of material featured on this list may be restricted. In all cases, please obtain the necessary permission of the authors or rightful owners before forwarding any material to or from this list. This service is meant for the exchange of analyses and news, for both academic and activist usage. We depend on your input. However, this is not a discussion list. Thank you."

¹⁶¹ MSANews editors to Michael Whine, E-mail, August 16, 1998.

¹⁶² Adam Giorgiou to msanews@msanews.mynet.net, E-mail, October 2, 1998.

¹⁶³ "Readers' Corner: The Message of Al-Muhajiroun and Censorship," MSANews, October 5, 1998.

¹⁶⁴ "Jihad is the Islamic Solution to Western Aggression in Iraq," MSA Net E-mail, January 24, 1999.

¹⁶⁵ "OBM Network Interview:- Sheikh Omar Bakri Muhammad – 12 Answers For The Record," MSANews, January 19, 2001.



show [their] support and stand for [bin Laden's] struggle and the objectives he and his brothers stand for.”¹⁶⁶

On February 14, 2004, at an MSA West Conference at the University of California-Berkeley, Amir Abdul Malik Ali made the following remarks:

America is a place of ideas, our battle ground for ideas, in America, the Prophet, peace be upon him, says a mujahid fights with his words, with his tongue, as well as his sword. So in America you mostly fight with your tongue although you should learn how to use your sword, or rifle, or handgun. Protecting your home, protecting your home. We're citizens and the Constitution says the right to bear arms, ya know what I'm saying, so stock up!¹⁶⁷

He added:

Allah talks about struggling, jihad is used. Jihad. Struggling in the way of Allah, that's what Allah says, struggling in the way of Allah right and then the clincher, then the clincher, not afraid of those who find blame, ain't afraid, say what you want! Say what you want about our kind! Say what you want about our freedom fighters! Say what you want about so called fundamentalism, and jihadists, and Islamists...Say what you want! Call us terrorists! Say whatchya want!¹⁶⁸

Following the arrest of Imam Jamil al-Amin on murder charges, MSA sponsored several events to raise money for his legal defense. At one fundraiser, Imam Abdul Alim Musa, Imam of Masjid al-Islam in Washington, D.C., defended al-Amin's murderous actions, inciting hate and violence against the United States:

Imam Jamil coined a phrase, and that phrase meant this: If you don't give us justice, if you don't give us equality, if you don't give us our share of America, if you don't stay out of our way and leave us alone, we're gonna burn America down.”¹⁶⁹

Imam Musa continued, portraying al-Amin as a hero who stood up against America:

Imam Jamil al-Amin is the last man standing. Yeah, against who? The United States Government of America. They've never been able to break him. They've never been able to make him compromise. That's who we're dealing with today. We're dealing with a hero.¹⁷⁰

At a 2005 MSA conference at the University of Arizona, guest speaker Imam Umar Abdul Jalil, executive director of ministerial and volunteer services for all correctional institutions

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech, MSA West Conference, University of California-Berkeley, February 14, 2004.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Abdul Alim Musa, Speech, Jamil Al-Amin Fundraiser, University of California-Irvine, September 9, 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Abdul Alim Musa, Speech, Jamil Al-Amin Fundraiser, University of California-Irvine, September 9, 2001.



in the New York City area, made the following comments, for which he was later suspended by New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg:¹⁷¹

We have terrorists defining who the terrorist is, but because they have the weight of legitimacy they get away with it... We know that the greatest terrorists in the world occupy the White House, without a doubt.¹⁷²

At an event sponsored by the MSA chapter at Chaffey College in California in March 2006, guest speaker Amir Abdel Malik Ali gave an address entitled, “War on Terrorism or War on Islam,” in which he stated, “The war on terrorism is actually a war on Islam.”¹⁷³

On October 22, 2000, an anti-Israel protest took place at the Israeli consulate in Los Angeles. The rally was organized by two UCLA students, Arif Shaikh and Ahmed Shama. Shama was then president of the UCLA MSA chapter. At the rally, protesters shouted “Death to Israel!” and “Victory to Islam! Death to Jews!”¹⁷⁴

At the end of the rally, an Israeli flag was burned while the crowd yelled, “Khaybar Khaybar, O Jews, the army of Muhammad is coming for you.”¹⁷⁵ The slogan is a historical reference to remind Jews of the imminent death they supposedly face once Muslim armies unite under the banner of Islam, as happened to them in Khaybar in the seventh century.

At the same rally, Hussam Ayloush, representative of CAIR of Southern California, encouraged students and other attendees to donate to HLF. HLF was later closed down by the U.S. government for its ties to Hamas and was indicted in Dallas for supporting the Palestinian terrorist organization Hamas, a U.S.-designated terrorist organization. Ayloush made this appeal to the audience:

We need to make sure to extend our support to the victims, to the orphans, to those who have...the many martyrs who have given their lives to the honor of this holy place. We need to make sure to send our donations. There are many organizations here. I will name two of them. I was not asked by them to...this is not a commercial. The Holy Land Foundation, the Islamic Relief. Both have efforts going on in Palestine for the families of the victims.¹⁷⁶

At an October 2000 protest, Sohail Shakry, then the president of MSA West, quoted Hizbollah Secretary General Sheik Nasrallah, calling for the eradication of the State of Israel:

¹⁷¹ Sewell Chan, “Mayor Suspends Jails Chaplain for 2 Weeks,” *New York Times*, March 15, 2006.

¹⁷² Imam Umar Abdul Jalil, Speech “Developing Our Ummah: Strengthening Ties within the Muslim Community; We are Social Servants of God,” MSA West Zone Conference. Tucson, AZ. April 15-17, 2005.

¹⁷³ Abdel Malik Ali, Speech “War on Terrorism or War on Islam?” Chaffey College. Rancho Cucamonga, CA. March 1, 2006.

¹⁷⁴ Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.

¹⁷⁵ Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.

¹⁷⁶ Hussam Ayloush, Speech, Anti-Israel Protest at Israeli Consulate, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.



If we look at the situation the past 52 years, the biggest impediment to peace has been the existence of the Zionist State of Israel. Since the existence of this state, we have had wars, conflicts, killings, massacres. If we really want true peace then we must see that it goes with the elimination of the Zionist entity in the middle of the Muslim world.¹⁷⁷

On February 21, 2001, MSA of the University of California- Irvine invited Imam Muhammad Al-Asi, a Shi'ite cleric from the Islamic Center in Potomac, Maryland, to speak on its campus. Al-Asi said:

You have the Jews who are blind and deaf and dumb, who cannot see the same forms of racism, or discrimination, of oppression that is institutionalized and implemented by one of their own; and that is the Israeli, Zionist government in Tel Aviv...Discrimination, if it is against a gentile, is not objectionable; but anything that happens against a Jew becomes a Holocaust...Where is the courageous Jew who can come out and say Israel is as fascist as the most fascist of Europe? Israel is as racist as Apartheid could ever be.¹⁷⁸

On May 15, 2002, during "Zionist Awareness Week" at UC-Irvine, Al-Asi made another incendiary speech, this time making his approval of violent measures known:

If the only thing the Israelis and their mentors and their sponsors and their superiors in Washington, D.C. are going to understand is the use of force, then that's the language we're going to communicate with. We're going to use force. And whatever was taken by force can only be retrieved by force.¹⁷⁹

At a San Francisco State University rally on April 9, 2002, Imam Amir Abdul Malik Ali revealed his feelings about Israel and the Palestinian "struggle," when he shouted, "Stop calling them suicide bombers!"¹⁸⁰ Cheered by his student audience, Malik Ali continued his advocacy of the bombers:

When a person commits suicide, they are depressed! When a person commits suicide, they are without hope! When a person commits suicide they are losing their patience. They are in a state of despair! These brothers -- and sisters -- before they go out on their martyr missions are doing videotapes, and they are saying "Yeeuuuhh! I'm doing this! I'm doing this!" And their mothers are right next to them saying, "Go ahead and go!"¹⁸¹

On May 18, 2005, Mohammad Al-Asi gave a speech during "Israel Awareness Week" at the University of California-Irvine, in which he condemned what he saw as the takeover of American politics by Israel and Jewish interests. Echoing the classical anti-Semitic theme of

¹⁷⁷ UCLA MSA Rally, Los Angeles, CA, October 22, 2000.

¹⁷⁸ Muhammad Al-Asi, Speech, University of California-Irvine, February 21, 2001.

¹⁷⁹ Muhammad Al-Asi, Speech, Zionist Awareness Week, University of California-Irvine, May 15, 2002.

¹⁸⁰ Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech, Anti-Israel Rally, San Francisco State University, April 9, 2002.

¹⁸¹ Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech, Anti-Israel Rally, San Francisco State University, April 9, 2002.



a conspiracy in which Jews dominate the political sphere to further Jewish interests in the world, Al-Asi stated:

It's about time we begin to open our eyes, see for ourselves and identify this cancerous presence of the Israeli interest that has taken over the American body politic.¹⁸²

At the February 2006 MSA West Zone Conference at Sacramento State University, Abdel Malik Ali venerated Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, assassinated by Israel in 2004, and rejoiced at Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's debilitated state of health:

Look how Allah allowed Sheikh Yassin to die. Look how he allowed him to die. And look at Sharon [laughter]. He's a vegetable. You think that's just coincidence? Sheikh Yassin died the death of a shaheed, a martyr; no, Sharon. He's suffering. That's Allah. See Allah is so deep.¹⁸³

Again, appearing on March 1, 2006 at an MSA event at Chaffey College, Malik Ali alleged a Zionist conspiracy behind the Danish cartoon controversy:

The Danish government wasn't behind this. The Danish government wasn't behind this at all. It was Zionists who were behind this. It was Zionists... The Zionists did this. We knew, we knew who it was, but we had to wait for the information to come out; to come out. 'Cause Zionists don't like Muslims, you know what I'm saying?¹⁸⁴

Speaking at the 7th MSA West Zone conference in January 2005, Malik Ali disparaged a fictional Muslim spiritual leader, whom he mockingly named "Sheikh Levitate," for being too much of a pacifist and neglecting to promote jihad:

They're teaching you that there is disconnect between your internal jihad and the external jihad. And here's how some of us are falling for it. We will see Sheikh Levitate. And Sheikh Levitate will have all of the appearance of spirituality... And you marvel at his level of spirituality and piety, right? Sheikh Levitate meantime ain't saying nothin' about the jihad out there, the struggle of our people, what we must do, how we must prepare, right, and what we must do while we are preparing. He ain't doin' nothing about that. Sheik Levitate ain't tellin' nothin' about Palestine... He's spiritual. But when it comes time to fight. When it comes time to take a position, when it comes time to challenge the system ... when it comes time to deal with the system, Sheik Levitate has nothing to say.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Mohammad Al-Asi, Speech, Israel Awareness Week, University of California-Irvine, May 18, 2005.

¹⁸³ Abdel Malik Ali, Speech "Da'Wah, Political Activism and Civil Rights: Elevating the World of Allah in the Campus and Society," MSA West Zone Conference, Sacramento State University, CA. February 3-5, 2006.

¹⁸⁴ Abdel Malik Ali, Speech "War on Terrorism or War on Islam?" Chaffey College, Rancho Cucamonga, CA. March 1, 2006.

¹⁸⁵ Imam Amir Abdul Malik Ali, Speech "Liberation of Self and Society," Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Zone Conference, University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.



At the same conference, former MSA official Ahmad Shama, venerated Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin as a martyr and praised the terrorist organization Hamas:

Sheikh Yassin was just martyred a few months ago. And Sheikh Yassin was probably one of the foremost leaders of the global Islamic Movement worldwide... And Hamas is doing the work on behalf of the ummah in *Filastin*... Their slogan has been clear that the only solution to the current occupation is military resistance, not shaking hands, not dialogues. The current solution to the problem in *Filastin* is military resistance... Sheikh Yassin was a proper sheikh... There was a man who used his knowledge, he used his knowledge to galvanize the people, to move the people, you know, to get people to, like, give their lives for the sake of Islam. And there is a man who, you know, gave his life for Islam.¹⁸⁶

MSA sponsored a 2001 fundraising event at UC-Irvine to raise money for the legal defense of accused murderer Jamil al-Amin -- who was to be convicted of the crime the following year.¹⁸⁷ Even after Al-Amin's conviction for murder and imprisonment, MSA continued to sponsor events on his behalf. In February 2004, he was invited to speak via teleconference at an MSA West conference held at the University of California-Berkeley.¹⁸⁸

At the 7th Annual MSA West Conference held at the University of Southern California in January 2005, guest speaker Muhammad Al Asi had these comments about the triumph of Allah and martyrdom:

Whatever happens, happens because Allah wants it to happen. And where is it going to take us? It is either going to be Shahada [martyrdom] or it is going to be Nasr [victory]. It is either going to be us affirming Allah... or it is going to be Allah delivering to us His triumph, His support, and His victory. It cannot be anything else.¹⁸⁹

At MSA's 2006 West Zone Conference at Sacramento State University, guest speaker Abdel Malik Ali extolled "three things that Hamas did that we should look at, that we should duplicate in America." Third among these, according to Ali, "they were uncompromising with oppression. They didn't sit down and talk with no Yahoood."¹⁹⁰

MSA held their 2007 West Zone Conference in April 2007 at UC-Berkley.¹⁹¹ Amir Mertaban, the president of MSA West,¹⁹² gave a speech entitled "Methods of Da'wah." In

¹⁸⁶ Ahmed Shama, Speech "Global Islamic Movements," Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Zone Conference, University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.

¹⁸⁷ Jamil Al-Amin Fundraiser, University of California-Irvine, September 9, 2001.

¹⁸⁸ Jamil al-Amin, Speech, MSA West Conference, University of California - Berkeley, February 14, 2004.

¹⁸⁹ Mohammad Al Asi, Speech "Representing Islam in the Middle of an Identity Crisis," Striving for Revival: Student Activism for Global Reformation: 7th Annual MSA West Conference. University of Southern California. January 14-17, 2005.

¹⁹⁰ Abdel Malik Ali, Speech "Da'Wah, Political Activism and Civil Rights: Elevating the World of Allah in the Campus and Society," MSA West Zone Conference. Sacramento State University, CA. February 3-5, 2006.

¹⁹¹ Amir Mertaban, Speech, MSA West Zone Conference, UC-Berkley, April 13-15, 2007.



his speech, he referenced Muqtada al Sadr, leader of the largest Shia militia in Iraq, the Mehdi Army. While al-Sadr-allied Iraqis have participated in the Iraq government, his militia has been responsible for much of the upheaval in Iraq, including insurgent warfare waged against the U.S. military Americans and massacres of Iraqi Sunnis.¹⁹³ Of al-Sadr, Mertaban stated:

Time magazine had this one article on Muqtada al-Sadr. Who knows who Muqtada al-Sadr is? He is one of the individuals in Iraq who is one of the leaders of the Shi'a resistance movement against U.S. troops. Anyway, Time magazine dramatizes everything. So here is Muqtada al-Sadr, ok? And I want you to look at my facial expression, because this is very powerful how they used him. He was wearing a huge black (unintelligible) with a big black (unintelligible) and he was going like this. And there is red fire in the background. I was scared. This is what (unintelligible) is. They're attacking Muslims not based on you and how you look and how you look. I don't even know the guy. The guy is probably a tight Muslim. I don't even know him. I don't really care too much about him to tell you the truth. But the idea is how they use individuals like that to portray Muslims.¹⁹⁴

Later in his speech, Mertaban said:

War in Iraq or Afghanistan or Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein. Don't ever compromise on Islam! And don't ever compromise on your Muslim brothers and sisters in which you have no evidence. Osama bin Laden- I don't know this guy. I don't know what he did. I don't know what he said. I don't know what happened. But we defend Muslim brothers and we defend our Muslim sisters to the end. Is that clear? I am not saying support terrorist acts. I am not saying any of that. I am saying generally speaking. If a man comes and robs a store – if you're going to rob the store, go ahead and rob the store, are we going to condemn him? No, you support your Muslim brothers whether it is right or wrong. When they do wrong you grab them and you slap some sense into them, you're doing wrong. You see what I am saying.

So you never compromise on your faith. You be confident in every aspect of life. In every aspect of Islam you are confident. Four wives? Yes men are allowed to have four wives within this context. Jihad? Yes Jihad! Jihad is the tightest thing in Islam. Don't compromise on these little things. Be proud of it. Why? Because Islam is a perfect religion. If you sit here and you start saying, "Jihad is only an internal this and that," you are compromising on your faith.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² "MSA West Board Members," MSA West Website, <http://msa-west.net/boardmembers.php> (Accessed April 26, 2007).

¹⁹³ Sharon Otterman, "IRAQ: Muqtada al-Sadr," Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/7637/>, September 1, 2004 (Accessed April 26, 2007).; Jonathan Steele, "Iraq violence: Shia massacre revives fears of civil war: Mahdi army blamed for Baghdad street slaughter: Shias killed as car bombs explode near mosque," *Guardian*, July 10, 2006.

¹⁹⁴ Amir Mertaban, Speech, MSA West Zone Conference, UC-Berkley, April 13-15, 2007.

¹⁹⁵ Amir Mertaban, Speech, MSA West Zone Conference, UC-Berkley, April 13-15, 2007.



MSA ROSTER OF GUEST SPEAKERS

MSA chapters throughout the country host frequent events, conferences, and lectures featuring speakers from the United States and around the world. MSA National compiled a list on its website of many of these speakers, including those described below.¹⁹⁶ This list had been updated as late as April 21, 1999.¹⁹⁷

Omar Ahmed founded the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in 1994.¹⁹⁸ He was also an official of the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP).¹⁹⁹ IAP was originally founded in 1981 in Illinois, but was dissolved in 1991 because no annual report was filed.²⁰⁰ It was also incorporated in 1986 in California and was frozen two years later for not paying a franchise tax.²⁰¹ The Texas branch of IAP was incorporated in 1993.²⁰² IAP came up in a memorandum opinion in the case of *Holy Land Foundation v. Ashcroft*, in which the Holy Land Foundation unsuccessfully sued then-Attorney General John Ashcroft to challenge its designation as a Specially Designated Terrorist Entity. HLF U.S. District Judge Gladys Kessler found the following:

Further, there is evidence in the record that, at the same time Hamas was funding HLF, it was also funding a network of organizations connected to HLF. There is evidence that at least one of these organizations, Islamic Association for Palestine ("IAP"), has acted in support of Hamas. [footnote 17 in this document reads, "There is evidence in the record that IAP distributes information on behalf of Hamas. See AR 1499-1535.] The Government contends that HLF knew of Hamas' funding of these organizations because HLF's leaders were associated with or related on a familial basis to the leaders of the other funded organizations.²⁰³

Mohammed Al-Hanooti has been a supporter of Hamas.²⁰⁴ In November 2001, FBI Special Agent Dale Watson, Assistant Director of the FBI Counterterrorism Division submitted a memo to the Department of Treasury regarding the Holy Land Foundation (mentioned above). Al-Hanooti received prominent mention in that memo. Special Agent Watson stated:

¹⁹⁶ "List of Names of Speakers on the MSA Speakers List," Web Archive of MSA of US & Canada Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20011011092917/http://www.msa-natl.org/Names_of_Speakers.html (Accessed August 13, 2007).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Council on American-Islamic Relations, Articles of Incorporation, 1994.

¹⁹⁹ Nihad Awad, "Muslim-Americans in Mainstream America," *The Link*, February-March 2000.

²⁰⁰ *Boim, et. al., v. Quranic Literacy Institute, et. al*, "Complaint," (ND IL, May 12, 2000), 5.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ *Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development v. John Ashcroft*, 02-442, "Memorandum Opinion," 21 (D DC, August 8, 2002).

²⁰⁴ Action Memorandum, Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development International Emergency Economic Powers Act. From Dale Watson, Assistant Director FBI Counterterrorism Division to Richard Newcomb, Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of Treasury, Nov. 5, 2001.



In April 1992, HLFRD-1, an FBI source, who has been found to be reliable in the past stated that Al-Hanooti was a big supporter of HAMAS. The source further stated that it was well known in the Palestinian community in the northern New Jersey area that Al-Hanooti was an active HAMAS supporter, purportedly holding fund-raising activities, as well as supporting visitors to the United States from Israel and Jordan, to speak on behalf of HAMAS.

HLFRD-2, an FBI source, who has been found to be reliable in the past stated in 1993, that Al-Hanooti collected over six million U. S. dollars for support of HAMAS in Israel.²⁰⁵

The memo also noted that Al-Hanooti participated in a meeting of Hamas leaders in Philadelphia in 1993.²⁰⁶

Shakir As-Sayid, or Shaker El-Sayed, was the secretary-general of Muslim American Society (MAS).²⁰⁷ In 1993, Muslim Brotherhood members in America decided to refer to the Brotherhood as the Muslim American Society, which they incorporated that year.²⁰⁸ MAS instructed its leaders to distance themselves from the Brotherhood. If a leader was asked about MAS' ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, he was to say that MAS was an independent organization.²⁰⁹ Sayed did say that "MAS, like the Brotherhood, believes in the teachings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, which are 'the closest reflection of how Islam should be in this life.'"²¹⁰ MAS' requirements for its active members provide evidence of El Sayed's claim; their training includes study of Muslim Brotherhood luminaries al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.²¹¹ MAS websites have devoted biographies to Hassan al Banna and Sayyid Qutb, in which the two are lauded and praised.²¹² These same websites note the development of MAS through the MSA, ISNA, and NAIT.

At the December 2002 ICNA-MAS conference, Shaker El Sayed, then secretary general of MAS, had this to say, in Arabic, about Palestinian suicide bombers:

... about the subject unfairly named suicide bomber, homicide bomber, murderers, or killers. Our answer to this issue is simple...The Islamic scholars said whenever there is an attack on an Islamic state or occupation, or the honor of the Muslims has been violated, the Jihad is a must for everyone, a

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 10-11

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 10.

²⁰⁷ Muslim American Society, Form 990, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 2003.

²⁰⁸ Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen, "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America," *Chicago Tribune*, September 19, 2004.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² "Biographies of 20th Century Leaders," Muslim American Society – Minnesota, Archived Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20030109141902/www.masmn.org/Biographies/20th_Century/index.htm (Accessed February 13, 2007).



child, a lady and a man. They have to make Jihad with every tool that they can get in their hand. Anything that they can get in their hand and if they don't have anything in their hand then they can fight with their hand without weapons.²¹³

Soliman Biehari, or Soliman Biheiri, formed a consulting business known as BMI (Bait ul-Mal) Investment Services, Inc. in the 1980s. According to the sworn statement of FBI Special Agent Robert Wright, BMI had been funded in part by Yassin Qadi, a Specially Designated Global Terrorist, and Musa Abu Marzook, a Hamas operative.²¹⁴ According to Biheiri, the idea of starting BMI came from a 1981 meeting in Luxembourg with Mahmoud Abu Saud and Gamal Attia, two known senior members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Biheiri described Saud and Attia (who is also Biheiri's second cousin) as "fathers of the modern Islamic banking system."²¹⁵ The two Brotherhood operatives encouraged Biheiri to start up a financial corporation in the U.S. in the style of other Islamic financial entities like the Islamic Development Bank, which was fathered by Attia and has managed accounts that give financial support to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers.²¹⁶ Saud and Attia encouraged Biheiri in this venture because they believed a financial organization with their interests had a better chance of flourishing in the more open American financial system.²¹⁷

Biheiri and BMI were connected to Mousa Abu Marzook, a Hamas leader, and Hamas through a BMI company called Mostan established by Biheiri in 1988. In the paperwork for an account at a bank in New Jersey, where Mostan was founded, Marzook is identified as the president of Mostan and Biheiri is identified as vice president. In May 1991, Marzook disclosed to a federal law enforcement informant that he had been investing money with BMI. During the investigations into Biheiri's activities, he was misleading and dishonest about his relationship with Marzook and the extent of his knowledge about Marzook's position with Hamas. Biheiri was charged and convicted in October 2004 for making false statements under oath.²¹⁸

Biheiri was in violation of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). When authorities seized Biheiri's computer, they discovered files that indicated BMI dealings with Hamas and Marzook after they had been designated as

²¹³ Shaker El Sayed, Speech, ICNA-MAS Convention, Chicago, IL, December 26, 2002.

²¹⁴ Sworn Statement, FBI Special Agent Robert G. Wright, Jr., Chicago, Illinois, March 21, 2000.; Affidavit of FBI Special Agent Robert G. Wright, Jr., (ND IL, June 9, 1998);

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Steven Stalinsky, "Saudi Arabia and the WTO," *The New York Sun*, September 21, 2005; Soliman S. Biheiri, interview by David Kane and Brad Romanoff at Dulles Airport, United States Customs Service, June 15, 2003.

²¹⁷ Soliman S. Biheiri, interview by David Kane and Brad Romanoff at Dulles Airport, United States Customs Service, June 15, 2003.

²¹⁸ *US v. Biheiri*, 03-365-A, "Redacted Sentencing Declaration and Supporting Exhibits," p. 17-19 (ED VA December 11, 2003).; *US v. Biheiri*, 03-365-A, "Government's Final Memorandum Regarding Sentencing," (ED VA, January 7, 2004).; *US v. Biheiri*, 03-365-A, Jury Verdict (ED VA, October 12, 2004).



terrorists by the U.S. government. Marzook's money, which Biheiri managed for Marzook after his deportation in 1995, remains unaccounted for.²¹⁹

Abu Ali (Abdul-Alim) Musa is the Imam of the Masjid al-Islam in Washington DC. In 1996, when asked about Hamas' use of suicide bombers, Musa justified the tactic, saying that since conventional military means were not a viable option, "you use every means you have to defend yourself and finally you chose a military target a place where military personnel ride These are all military people. And then you go and place some explosions, some explosives on yourself and you kill several of your enemies then you're not called --that's not called suicide in Islam, that's called achieving martyrdom."²²⁰ At a rally in DC in July of 2002, Musa said, "When they go out and strike at the heart of Zionism. They are not suicide bombers they are heroes they are sheroes, isn't that right? That's a part of our deen, that's a part of our religion, lets not become weak boned and apologetic, and run around trying to appease this government and that government."²²¹

Nabil M. Sadoun was the president of Muslim Arab Youth Association (MAYA).²²² Additionally, he founded the United Association for Studies and Research²²³ (UASR) in 1989 and was its director through 1991.²²⁴ UASR, an Islamic think tank with strong ties to Hamas,²²⁵ was co-founded by Hamas leader Musa Abu Marzouk.²²⁶ Abdurahman Alamoudi once was a board member of UASR.²²⁷ Among Sadoun's invitees to the 1991 UASR/IIT conference were Musa Abu Marzouk, Ishaq al Farhan of Jordan's Islamic Action Front (the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan),²²⁸ Kamal Hilbawi of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,²²⁹ and Mohammad al-Asi, imam at the Islamic Center in Washington, DC,²³⁰ known for espousing virulently

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Imam Abdul Alim Musa, "The Islamic threat or Western Paranoia?" Crescent International, Johannesburg, South Africa, April 1, 1996.

²²¹ Abdul Alim Musa, Rally, Freedom Plaza, Washington, DC, July 2002.

²²² "List of Names of Speakers on the MSA Speakers List," Web Archive of MSA of US & Canada Website, http://web.archive.org/web/20011011092917/http://www.msa-natl.org/Names_of_Speakers.html (Accessed August 13, 2007).

²²³ United Association for Studies and Research, Articles of Incorporation filed by with the Illinois Secretary of State and accepted September 18, 1989.

²²⁴ United Association for Studies and Research, IRS form 990, 1991.

²²⁵ Figures at UASR, including some founders, have well-documented ties with Hamas. For example, a member of the inner circle of UASR -- its executive director since it moved to Virginia in 1991 -- is Ahmed Bin Yousef, aka Yousef Salah. Despite years of denying his membership in Hamas, Bin Yousef surfaced in 2006 as the senior political advisor to Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister of the Palestinian National Authority. Bin Yousef also served as a staff writer for an English language publication of the Islamic Association of Palestine, the Palestine Monitor, which lauded attacks by HAMAS and published its communiqués in English. (Ilene R. Prusher, "Moderate voices vie for clout within Hamas," Christian Science Monitor, May 19, 2006, <http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0519/p07s01-wome.html> (Accessed May 3, 2007).; *Palestine Monitor*, September 1990, pp. 2-3.)

²²⁶ United Association for Studies and Research, Articles of Incorporation, State of Illinois, 1989.

²²⁷ United Association for Studies and Research, IRS form 990, 1994.

²²⁸ "US embassy expresses regret at initially refusing visa for Islamic party leader," *BBC*, May 11, 2000.

²²⁹ Agence France Presse, "Moslem Brotherhood says hundreds of members detained," April 12, 1997.

²³⁰ Islamic Center of Washington, DC Webpage: <http://www.islamiccenterdc.com/imamalasi.htm>



anti-Semitic views. For example, at a rally at University of California, Irvine on February 21, 2001, al-Asi said, “We have a psychosis in the Jewish community that is unable to co-exist equally and brotherly with other human beings. You can take a Jew out of the ghetto, but you can’t take the ghetto out of the Jew.”²³¹

VII. MSA CAUSES

In a December 2001 *Associated Press* article entitled, “University Support for Alleged Terrorism Affiliates Sparks Debate,”²³² *al-Talib* publisher and former MSA UCLA President Mohammed Mertaban was quoted criticizing the U.S government for freezing the assets of Islamic charities tied to Hamas and terrorism, justifying suicide bombings:

If it goes to families of those who have died in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I don’t see anything wrong with that. I don’t understand how people can label Palestinians terrorists.²³³

In an article in the *Daily Bruin* several months later, Mertaban commented, “We’re in no position to condemn a suicide bombing because none of us has experienced what they’ve been through under 53 years of oppression.”²³⁴

MSA hosts on its website a list of “Islamic organizations.” Among these are groups that have been identified as supporters of terrorism or as having terrorist ties. Some of these organizations, such as KindHearts, and Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA) remain on the website as of May 2007,²³⁵ even though the former was shut down by the U.S. government for its terrorism ties and the latter was designated as a specially designated global terrorist organization by the Treasury Department. Additionally, IARA has been charged with serious crimes explained below. According to Internet archives, MSA provided links to the Holy Land Foundation, the Global Relief Agency, and the Benevolence International Foundation until March 2003,²³⁶ more than a year after they were shut down by the U.S. government for funding terrorism. These organizations, listed on the MSA website *at least* until 2003, included:

²³¹ Mohammad al-Asi, Speech , UC-Irvine, February 21, 2001.

²³² Don Thompson, “University Support for Alleged Terrorism Affiliates Sparks Debate,” *Associated Press*. December 19, 2001.

²³³ Don Thompson, “University Support for Alleged Terrorism Affiliates Sparks Debate,” *Associated Press*. December 19, 2001.

²³⁴ Peijean Tsai, “Students Reflect on Current Situation in Israel,” *Daily Bruin Online*, May 9, 2002.

²³⁵ “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed May 8, 2007).

²³⁶ “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, March 2003 Web Archive, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030301041614/http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed April 26, 2007).



KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development is an Islamic charity that was incorporated in Toledo, Ohio in 2002.²³⁷ KindHearts is registered in other states including Colorado,²³⁸ Pennsylvania,²³⁹ Oklahoma,²⁴⁰ Nevada,²⁴¹ and Indiana.²⁴²

The U.S. Treasury Department froze the assets of KindHearts on February 19, 2006. Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence Stuart Levey stated, “KindHearts is the progeny of Holy Land Foundation and Global Relief Foundation, which attempted to mask their support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving.”²⁴³ KindHearts remains on the MSA website as of May 2007.²⁴⁴

The Islamic American Relief Agency (IARA), formerly known as the Islamic African Relief Agency-USA) was designated by the U.S. Treasury Department as a specially designated global terrorist organization for its support of Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, and the Taliban in 2004.²⁴⁵ IARA was indicted in March 2007 “for illegally transferring funds to Iraq in violation of federal sanctions...stealing government funds, and with attempting to avoid government detection of their illegal activities by, among other things, falsely denying in a nationally-televised interview that an associate of Osama bin Laden had been an employee of IARA.”²⁴⁶ IARA remains on the MSA website as of May 2007.²⁴⁷

Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) – The Benevolence International Foundation (BIF) began operating in the United States in the early 1990s.²⁴⁸ Founded in Saudi Arabia in the late 1980s as Lajnat al-Birr al-Islamiah (LBI), it was renamed upon incorporation in the United States.²⁴⁹ Sheik Abedl Abdul Galil Batterjee, a wealthy Saudi Arabian, founded LBI. BIF provided support for the Mujahadeen fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, as well as to facilitate the immigration of Jihadists into the conflict zone. After the war in Afghanistan ended, BIF helped al Qaeda establish its presence in the Sudan, Bosnia and Chechnya, providing support for the Mujahadeen in those conflicts as well.²⁵⁰ BIF was shut down By the U.S. Government in December of 2001, as part of a crackdown on terrorist financing

²³⁷ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Ohio Secretary of State, January 22, 2002.

²³⁸ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Colorado Secretary of State, September 29, 2003.

²³⁹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Unified Registration Statement for Charitable Organizations, September 9, 2002.

²⁴⁰ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Oklahoma Secretary of State, September 29, 2003.

²⁴¹ KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Nevada Secretary of State, August 18, 2003.

²⁴² KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Indiana Secretary of State, October 17, 2003.

²⁴³ “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” Department of Treasury, February 19, 2006.

²⁴⁴ “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed May 8, 2007).

²⁴⁵ “Treasury Designates Global Network, Senior Officials of IARA for Supporting bin Laden, Others,” *U.S. Treasury Department Press Release*, October 13, 2004.

²⁴⁶ “Grand Jury Indicts Officers, Employees of Islamic Charity,” Office of the U.S. Attorney, Western District of Missouri, March 7, 2007.

²⁴⁷ “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed May 8, 2007).

²⁴⁸ BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.

²⁴⁹ BIF, Articles of Incorporation, 1992.

²⁵⁰ *USA v. Arnaut*, et al. NDIL 02-CR-892. “Government’s Evidentiary Proffer Supporting the Admissibility of Co-Conspirator Statements,” January 6, 2003 at p. 48, 58.



after the September 11th attack by al Qaeda.²⁵¹ The United States Treasury Department designated BIF as a financier of terrorism on November 19, 2002, along with two closely linked but separately incorporated entities Benevolence International Fund (Canada), Bosanska Idealna Futura (Bosnia), and their branch offices.²⁵² BIF worked with the Holy Land Foundation, a Hamas-front that had its assets frozen by the U.S. government, in its relief efforts in Palestine.²⁵³ MSA provided a link to BIF until March 2003.²⁵⁴

Global Relief Foundation (GRF) -- The Global Relief Foundation (GRF) began operating in the United States as a tax-exempt, nonprofit charitable organization in 1992.²⁵⁵ Based in Bridgeview, Illinois, it grew into one of the largest Islamic charities in the United States. GRF described itself as a not-for-profit, nongovernmental organization set up to provide humanitarian and charitable relief to Muslims, especially in conflict zones such as Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Kashmir, and Lebanon, through a network of overseas offices.²⁵⁶ In addition to undertaking this charitable work, however, the organization served as a propaganda organ for global jihad, and the U.S. government has alleged that GRF funded violent jihadism.²⁵⁷ GRF had an initial budget of about \$700,000.²⁵⁸ By the end of the 1990s, it was reporting more than \$5 million in annual contributions.²⁵⁹ The organization's tax filings indicate that 90 percent of the money donated between 1994 and 2000 was sent abroad.²⁶⁰ An FBI memorandum notes that "some materials distributed by GRF glorify 'martyrdom through jihad' and state that donations will be used to buy ammunition, equip 'the raiders' and support the Mujahedin."²⁶¹ GRF had overseas registered offices in Islamabad, Pakistan; Brussels, Belgium; Sarajevo, Bosnia; Zagreb, Croatia; and Baku, Azerbaijan.²⁶²

On December 14, 2001 the FBI raided GRF's Bridgeview headquarters and arrested its chairman, Rabih Haddad.²⁶³ On that same day, NATO soldiers and United Nations police raided GRF's offices in Kosovo.²⁶⁴ The U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) took control of GRF's assets, informing the GRF:

²⁵¹ *BIF v. Ashcroft*, "Plaintiff's Memorandum in Opposition to Defendant's Motion to Stay Proceedings," (N.D. Ill. May 9, 2002); "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," CBS News, December 14, 2001.

²⁵² "Treasury Designates Benevolence International Foundation and Related Entities as Financiers of Terrorism." US Treasury Department Press Release. PO-3632. Office of Public Affairs. Nov. 19, 2002.

²⁵³ "All Eyes on Palestine," *Benevolence*, December 2000.

²⁵⁴ "Islamic Organizations," Muslim Student Association National Website, March 2003 Web Archive, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030301041614/http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed April 26, 2007).

²⁵⁵ Global Relief Foundation Form 990, 1993.

²⁵⁶ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," 89.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁵⁸ State of Illinois, Global Relief Foundation, Articles of Incorporation, January 10, 1992.

²⁵⁹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "Monograph on Terrorism Financing," 89.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ "Feds Claim Muslim Charity Had Contact with Bin Laden Secretary," *Associated Press*, March 28, 2002.

²⁶² *Global News* 4, no. 1 (Winter 1997) 8.

²⁶³ Deanna Bellandi, "FBI issues search warrants at two Islamic charities based in suburban Chicago," *Associated Press*, December 14, 2001.

²⁶⁴ "Feds Close Two More Muslim Groups," CBS News, December 14, 2001.



The United States Government has reason to believe that Global Relief Foundation, Inc. (“GRFI”) may be engaged in activities that violate the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06 (“IEEPA”). You are hereby notified that pursuant to the authorities granted by the IEEPA, the U.S. Department of the Treasury is blocking all funds and accounts and business records in which GRFI has any interest, pending further investigation and resolution of this matter.²⁶⁵

GRF sued then-Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft, and FBI Director Robert Mueller, challenging the seizure of their assets, in January 2002.²⁶⁶ The district court denied GRF’s request for an injunction against the defendants.²⁶⁷ The case went to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit where the court found in favor of the defendants.²⁶⁸

The FBI began investigating GRF prior to 9/11, suspecting that it supported Islamic extremism²⁶⁹ and had high-level affiliations with an al Qaeda precursor organization in Pakistan.²⁷⁰ Chicago FBI agents summarized their findings in a January 6, 2000 memo:

Although the majority of GRF funding goes toward legitimate relief operations, a significant percentage is diverted to fund extremist causes. Among the terrorist groups known to have links to GRF are the Algerian Armed Islamic Group, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Gama’at Al Islamiya, and the Kashmiri Harakat Al Jihad El Islam, as well as the Al Qaeda organization of Usama Bin Laden. . . . In the past, GRF support to terrorists and other transnational mujahideen fighters has taken the form of purchase and shipment of large quantities of sophisticated communications equipment, provision of humanitarian cover documentation to suspected terrorists and fund-raising for terrorist groups under the cover of humanitarian relief.²⁷¹

MSA provided a link to GRF until March 2003.²⁷²

Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF) -- Islamic charity based in America, whose assets were frozen in December 2001 by FBI and Treasury Department

²⁶⁵ *Global Relief Foundation, Inc. v. New York Times Company, et al.*, 01 C 8821, “Memorandum Opinion and Order,” 7 (ND IL February 19, 2003). See Appendix for the text of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1701-06.

²⁶⁶ *Global Relief Foundaiton, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, et. al.*, 02-C-0674, “Complaint,” (ND IL, January 28, 2002).

²⁶⁷ *Global Relief Foundaiton, Inc. v. Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, et. al.*, Defendants-Appellees, No. 02-2536, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, 315 F.3d 748; 2002 U.S. App. LEXIS 27172, October 29, 2002, Argued, December 31, 2002, Decided.

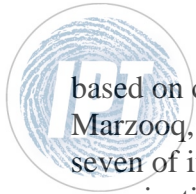
²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ “Monograph on Terrorism Financing,” Staff Report to the Commission, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, August 2004, p. 90.

²⁷⁰ “Treasury Department Fact Sheet on the Global Relief Foundation,” Department of State: Washington File, October 18, 2002.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁷² “Islamic Organizations,” Muslim Student Association National Website, March 2003 Web Archive, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030301041614/http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed April 26, 2007).



based on charges that it had raised funds for Hamas. Among HLF's founders was Musa Abu Marzooq, political leader of Hamas.²⁷³ In July 2004 a federal grand jury indicted HLF and seven of its leaders on charges of providing material support to designated foreign terrorist organization HAMAS.²⁷⁴ The trial is scheduled to begin July 16, 2007. In December 2004 a federal judge ruled that HLF (along with IAP) was liable for a \$156 million dollar lawsuit for aiding and abetting the terrorist group Hamas in the murder of a 17-year old American citizen.²⁷⁵ The terrorism finance trial against the Holy Land Foundation began in July 2007. MSA provided a link to HLF until March 2003.²⁷⁶

VIII. MSA'S POLITICAL AGENDA

An MSA pamphlet issued in 1996, "MSA Starter's Guide: A Guide on How to Run a Successful MSA," contains a section titled "Islamization of Campus Politics and the Politicization of the MSA" Internet archives show that this document was still posted on the MSA-National website until June 2003.

The introductory sentence explains, "This brief statement outlines the potential long-term goal of every MSA: The Islamization of Campus Politics and the politicization of the MSA."²⁷⁷

The piece goes on to detail how students can achieve this goal:

The MSA needs to be a more "In-your-face" association...For example, the student body must be convinced that there is such a thing as a Muslim-bloc...²⁷⁸

With regard to Muslim participation in campus student governments, the guide states:

Aim is to rise within the ranks of the Union [student government] and to get on selected executive committees...I cannot stress this enough, the Union has vast powers that Muslims need to control.²⁷⁹

²⁷³ "Shutting Down the Terrorist Financial Network." U.S. Treasury Department Press Release. December 4, 2001, <http://www.ustreas.gov/press/releases/po841.htm> (Accessed January 9, 2006).

²⁷⁴ "Holy Land Foundation, Leaders, Accused of Providing Material Support to Hamas Terrorist Organization." USDOJ Press Release. July 27, 2004, http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/July/04_crm_514.htm (Accessed January 9, 2006).

²⁷⁵ *David Boim v. Quranic Literacy* 00-C-2905, "Judgment in a Civil Case," December 10, 2004.

²⁷⁶ "Islamic Organizations," Muslim Student Association National Website, March 2003 Web Archive, <http://web.archive.org/web/20030301041614/http://www.msa-national.org/resources/islamorg.html> (Accessed April 26, 2007).

²⁷⁷ "MSA Starter's Guide: A Guide on How to Run a Successful MSA," First Edition, 1996.

²⁷⁸ "MSA Starter's Guide: A Guide on How to Run a Successful MSA," First Edition, 1996.

²⁷⁹ "MSA Starter's Guide: A Guide on How to Run a Successful MSA," First Edition, 1996.



MSA's Political Action Task Force (PATF) emphasizes unity on political issues. Its website says, "We must build clear lines of communication between MSAs and PATF to spearhead a united political movement."²⁸⁰

Realizing that vision of unity has produced a conformist political atmosphere within the organization -- one that has had devastating consequences for moderate Muslim students who do not kowtow to MSA's extremist views. This is exemplified by the case of an Arizona State University student, who says he was intimidated and ostracized by MSA on his campus for supporting the U.S. liberation of Iraq. The student detailed his personal experience as follows:

When I, a proud American of Arab descent and Muslim faith, took a stand on behalf of the liberation of my oppressed Iraqi brethren, the ASU Muslim Students' Association personally attacked me for not being a real Muslim and announced to the ASU student body in editorials in the student paper that I Oubai Mohammad Shahbandar was a hater of Arabs and Muslims. There was no press conference by the president of the university or anyone else in his administration in behalf of this Muslim victim of Islamist hate.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ "Political Action Task Force," MSA National Website, <http://www.msa-national.org/taskforces/activism.html> (Accessed November 15, 2005).

²⁸¹ Oubai Mohammad Shahbandar, "Open Letter from an Arab-American Student," FrontPageMagazine.com., Jun. 2, 2003, <http://www.frontpagemag.com/articles/ReadArticle.asp?ID=8143> (Accessed Nov. 17, 2005).